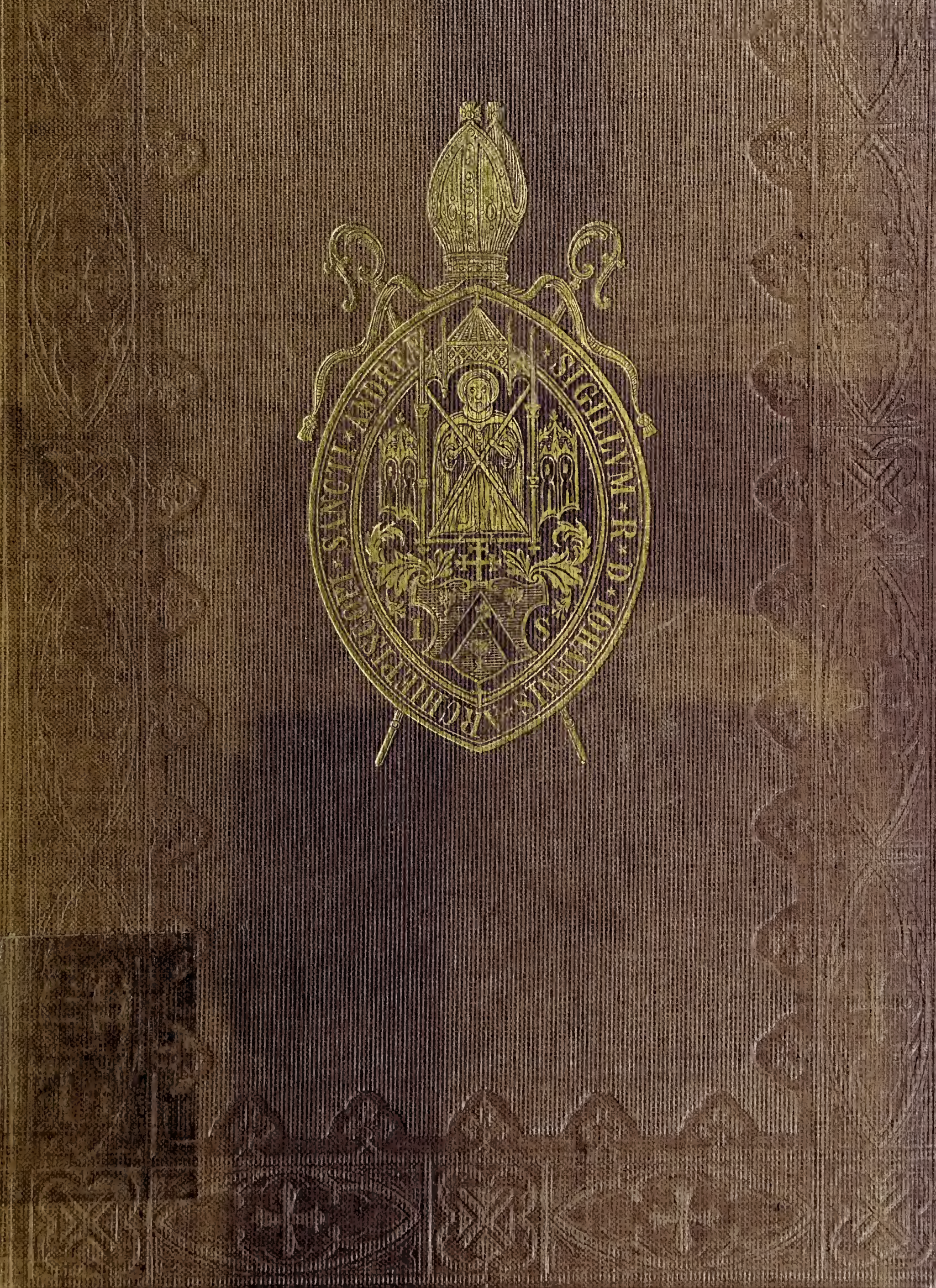
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THE

WORKS

OF THE

RIGHT REV. JOHN SAGE,

A BISHOP OF THE CHURCH IN SCOTLAND;

WITH

MEMOIR AND NOTES.

VOLUME III.

EDINBURGH:

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CHAPTER IV.

THE TRUE STATE OF THE MAIN CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE PRELATISTS AND THE PRESBYTERIANS FIXED; AND THEREBY THE UNSERVICEABLENESS OF G[ILBERT] R[ULE]'S MAIN SUBTERFUGES FULLY REPRESENTED.

SECT. I. IN pursuance of the method I proposed, I come now to try the solidity and serviceableness of the main answers returned by G[ilbert] R[ule] to the other arguments I insisted on, to prove that there was real and proper Episcopacy in St Cyprian's time. Of these answers, one, and indeed the chief one is, that such or such an argument, or testimony, or authority, does not prove that the *sole power* of *ordination* and *jurisdiction* was lodged in the Cyprianic Bishop's person, and therefore does not prove that in St Cyprian's time there was proper Episcopacy, true Prelacy, such Prelatic government as is pleaded for by the Scottish Prelatists.

II.—G[ilbert] R[ule] had indeed laid the foundation for this answer in that paragraph of his Defence of his Second Vindication which I took to task. He had insinuated there, that we, who in Scotland do stand for Episcopacy, do assign the *sole power* of ordination and jurisdiction to our Diocesan Bishop. This I rejected as no just state of the controversy. My words were—"When did our Bishops claim that sole power? when was it ascribed to them by the constitution? when did any of our Bishops attempt to exercise it? when did a Scottish Bishop offer, *e. g.* to ordain or depose a Presbyter, without the concurrence of other Presbyters? when was such a sole power deemed necessary for raising a Bishop to all the due elevations of the Episcopal authority?" And that I might make the matter as plain as I could, I added thus—"How

easy is it to distinguish between a *sole* and a *chief power?* between a power superior to all other powers, and a power exclusive of all other powers? between a power without or against which no other powers can act, though they may in conjunction with it, or subordination to it; and a power destroying all other powers, or disabling them from acting? Thus I stated the main controversy, that G[ilbert] R[ule] and every reader might see that as the constitution of the government of the Church of Scotland did not lodge the sole power of jurisdiction and ordination in the Bishop's person, so neither was I to maintain that such power belonged to him.

III.—This way of stating the controversy has not at all suited G[ilbert] R[ule]'s humour. He is very angry at it, and will needs have it to be a gross misstating of it. For believe him, and the true question is, whether the sole power of jurisdiction and ordination be lodged in a Diocesan Bishop? This, he says, "he always understood to be the main thing debated between the Presbyterians and Prelatists."[1] And he endeavours to prove, with no little zeal, that it must be so. And no wonder; for if mine be the just, and his an unjust state of the controversy, his party generally, as well as himself, are fairly at a loss.

IV.—Unless his be the true state of it, not only the Synod of London, and Smectymnuus (faithfully enough cited by him,)[2] but also the Presbyterian writers generally, have misstated it. And not only so, but a great many of their best arguments against Episcopacy (as it must needs be in all disputes where the controversy is not rightly stated) are nought and inconcludent, and their answers to the best arguments for it are useless and impertinent; especially, very little solidity, perhaps very little sense, will be to be found in all those fierce clamours, and those mighty noises against Prelatic tyranny and domination, wherewith they are so earnest to render Episcopal government so odious and unsavoury to the less thinking and less inquisitive multitude. And more particularly as to G[ilbert] R[ule], if he has here misstated the controversy, he has misstated it, and misunderstood it all his life; at least he has seldom stated it otherwise. Once or twice, I do remember, he has stated it

[1] Cypr. Bish. Exam. sect. 6, p. 6. [2] *Ibid.*

right, indeed, when forced to it, to serve a present turn, as we may learn hereafter. But he has so stated it for the most part—ever, while under no force—as may appear to any who shall read his books, particularly, his "Rational Defence of Nonconformity,"[1] and his "Good Old Way Defended."[2] Indeed, if he be not allowed his own way of stating it (besides that the most part of sect. 36, 37, 28, which are the most considerable in all his book, will be found (to give it in his own language) to be nothing but making a parade with a parcel of impertinent citations), it will be found that he has said just nothing to the far greater part of my book, this subterfuge of the *sole power* being his great sanctuary; more than forty or fifty times his only or his main answer to my arguments.

V.—It is visibly, then, of great importance for determining our present debate, that it be fairly and fully tried, whether he or I have rightly stated the main controversy. I affirm that I have done it. I am very confident that I have done it, if there is no more to be said against my stating of it, than what is said by G[ilbert] R[ule]. All he has said may be reduced to these four heads;—I. That "my distinctions between a *chief* and a *sole* power, &c. are useless; and he knows not what they can serve for, but to make a noise with words."[3] II. That "my ascribing only a *chief* power, &c. is contrary to the main design of my book." III. That "by the Scottish constitution, the *sole power* of jurisdiction and ordination is given to the Bishop." And IV. That I am singular in stating the controversy as I have done, and that I shall not be able to find many (if any one) on either side, that ever stated it without regard to *sole power*. I shall very briefly discuss the first three, for indeed they do not give me much trouble.

VI.—I. As for the first, which is, "That my distinctions are useless; they cannot be applied to the case in hand," &c. I think I have said enough, when I have told him just over again how I state the matter, viz. thus—I do ascribe to a Diocesan Bishop only a *chief power*, and not a *sole power* of ordination and jurisdiction; only a power *superior* to all

[1] P. 154, 169, 170, 171, 174, 176, 177, 178, 182, 189.

[2] P. 10, 30, 36, 49, 60, 64, 65, 69, 78, 88, 101, 106, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 137, 144, 146, 154.

[3] Sect. 7, p. 7.

other powers; not a power *exclusive* of all other *powers;* only a *power* without or against which no other *powers* can act, though they may in conjunction with it, or subordination to it; not a *power* destroying all other *powers*, or disabling them from acting. Did ever G[ilbert] R[ule] see distinctions more easily applied? This, I say, is enough in all conscience for removing entirely G[ilbert] R[ule]'s first objection against my stating of the question; so that what follows might be very well spared, but that I am willing to let the reader see how substantially G[ilbert] R[ule] can trifle.

VII.—Would you know G[ilbert] R[ule]'s reason for the uneasiness of applying such distinctions? It is even this—"That our question is about *sole power;* and if I deny the Bishops *that*, whatever other power I give them, I make them no such Bishops as afterwards I plead for."[1] Now what can be more pertinently replied to this, than that our question is not about *sole power*, and that I do not here plead for the *sole power* of Bishops? Had he called it his question, perhaps I should have allowed him to have made what he pleased of it; but when he says *our* question, he takes me into the bargain with him, and so I must be at least half question stater, and being that, I will not allow that our question is about *sole power.*

VIII.—"Besides," says he, "the word *chief* is ambiguous;" and so he gives four senses of it; the first is, that *chief* may be taken for dignity, and import no more than that the Bishop's power, though the same with the Presbyters, yet is more conspicuous, because of the dignity of the Bishop's person or office. 2. "By *chief*," says G[ilbert] R[ule], "may be meant that the Bishop can do some acts of power which the Presbyter cannot do." Or 3. "That the Presbyter's power is derived from the Bishop." Or 4. "That he cannot exercise it, unless the Bishop pleaseth." The *first* sense he supposes, will not please the Bishops. I do not say it will. Only I would gladly know how it can be reasonable that the Bishop should have more dignity than Presbyters, and yet no more power. And how it can be intelligible, that the dignity of the Bishop's office should make his power more conspicuous than the power of Presbyters,

[1] Sect. 7, p. 7.

if he has the same power, and by consequence, the same office with the Presbyters? "In all the other senses," continues he, "the Bishop's power is *sole*, at least as to these things about which he hath that power." Yes, Sir, without question, it is every inch as true a proposition, that the Bishop's power is *sole* as to these things about which it is *sole*, as it is, that that which is nothing to the purpose, so far as it is such, is nothing to the purpose: which I will still hold this, that you have said, to be, until you shall prove that the Bishop's having a peculiar power to do some acts, which Presbyters cannot do; or that the Presbyters having his power originally from Divine institution, but so as to be put in possession of it by the ministry of the Bishop; or that the Bishops having a negative over the Presbyter; until you shall prove that any one or two of these propositions, or even all three together, if you will, must necessarily infer that the Bishop has the *sole power* of jurisdiction and ordination.

IX.—All he has to say of my second distinction is, that it is the same with the first, only, that it is in different words. True, I designed it so. The third differeth little, nay, nothing at all; at least, I intended that it should differ nothing. I gave the same thing thrice over in different words, that I might the more plainly express it. Now, would you know what G[ilbert] R[ule] had to say against the third? Then take it in his own words—"if Presbyters cannot act, except the Bishop please, and if they must follow his light, whatever be their own, I see not what power they have." But, pray Sir, who said that "they must follow his light, whatever be their own?" Is it not one thing to say "that they can do nothing without him," and another to say, "they must do whatever he commands to be done?" Try the matter in your own family, *e. g.* Command your son to marry his sister: is he bound to obey you, to follow your light? and yet, I doubt not, you would think him a little undutiful if he should marry any woman without your consent. By this time, I think, my distinctions are even as useful as ever I took them to be.

X.—2. Let us next try if he has made it appear that my ascribing to a Diocesan Bishop only a *chief power*, &c. is inconsistent with the main design of my book. This he

attempts with warmth enough: but with what vigour? Let us hear him. He says,[1] "I ascribe *sole* power to the Cyprianic Bishop." Burn my book if that is in it; at least, in that amplitude we are now considering. But have I not said, "that the Bishop's power is monarchical?"[2] Yes, I own I have said that: and what then? Has every Monarch the sole power of jurisdiction within his dominions? *e. g.* Had Julius Cæsar (after he turned Monarch of the Roman Empire), and all succeeding Emperors, such *sole power?* Was there never another Magistrate in all that vast Empire that had any *power* of jurisdiction, no not so much as a subordinate one? Is not the King of Scotland a Monarch? And does his being that deprive all inferior judges or governors of all power jurisdictional? Did you never read Exod. 18, 21, or Dan. vi. 1, 2, or Matth. viii. 9, or 1st Peter ii. 13, 14? Turn to your friend Calderwood, and he will tell you, that one may be a Monarch without such *sole power*[3] —you have his words on the margin. Nay, he can instruct you both plainly and solidly, how Presbyters may have power, even by Divine institution, even immediately from Christ, though in subordination to a Bishop.[4] Mr Andrew Melvin himself can tell you, that every pastor is a supreme Magistrate in his own parish;[5] nay, that the government of every parish is monarchial.[6] And yet you know full well, he was very far from excluding ruling elders from all power of government. I could, if it were needful, appeal to Jerome, to Chamier, to Blondell, to Salmasius, and many more of your pretended friends for the no absurdity of calling a Bishop a Monarch within his own territory; but methinks

[1] Sect. 6, p. 5. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Quis enim nescit aliam esse regiminis formam, cum pastores omnes Episcopi divinitus instituti communi consilio et auxilio Ecclesiam gubernant: aliam, cum unus antonomastice dictus Episcopus nonnullam in Collegas potestatem habet, canonibus seu repagulis circumseptam ne in tyrannidem erumpat: aliam, cum solus in gregem et Presbyteros dominatur. Qui aristocraticum regimen à monarchico temperato, aut mero distinguere non novit opus est illi collyrio ad persanandum scotoma quo laborat. Alt. Dam. p. 113. [4] *Vide* p. 211, fuse.

[5] Quemque in sua parœcia supremum esse Ecclesiasticum magistratum asserimus. Melvinus contra Tilenum, cap. 2, sect. 13. *Vide* plura huc spectantia, cap. 10, sect. 18, et cap. 23, sect. 6.

[6] Ecclesiæ regimen modo quodam Monarchicum dicimus, viz. ubi pastores senioribus et seniores diaconis præsunt. Verba sunt Henrici Jacob, Melvino citata simul et probata, cap. 1, sect. 20.

Melvin and Calderwood may content you, or any Scottish Presbyterian. But of this more hereafter; it is enough at present, that every Monarch has not the *sole power* of jurisdiction within his dominions.

XL.—But do not I expressly say, page 38, "that a Bishop, in St Cyprian's time, had the sole power of ordination?"[1] I said so; but where did I say he had the sole power of jurisdiction? But if he had the sole power of ordination—and I do not ascribe this sole power to our Scottish Bishops—then, "by my own confession, they are not the Bishops of the Cyprianic Age" —— neither can G[ilbert] R[ule] guess what kind of animals I will make them: they must be a species of Bishops that never man pleaded for but myself; and he supposes, "my lords the Bishops will give me small thanks for thus pleading their cause.[2] Yes, this is a home-thrust: and yet, for all that, G[ilbert] R[ule] is a very merciful man, and can even help an adversary when in streights; but has he helped me out indeed? Never a prelatist of them all could have done it more effectually. Turn no further than to Sect. IX, and you will find it to a hair's-breadth; for there, accounting how there was no substantial difference between the form of government in St Cyprian's time, and the present Scottish Presbyterian model, he tells us in so many words, "let it then be considered first, that we (Presbyterians) never thought nor said that Church government was in all its modes and circumstances in the third century, (in which St Cyprian lived), the same with what it is now amongst Scots Presbyterians. The substance of government may remain, and yet considerable alterations be made, in the modes of managing it, in the succession of years, much more of ages. There hath been no age of old, or in later times, in which there have not been some lesser differences in management, even among Churches which used the same species of Church government for substance. As at this day at Scotland, low countries, Geneva, among the Switzers, &c. some Churches are more, and some less pure and near to the pattern; and yet all governed by Presbyters acting in parity: and among the Prelatists, prelatic power is higher in one Church than in another; as in England now, and in Scotland of late: wherefore our author must

[1] Sect. 6, p. 5. [2] *Ibid.*

not think to triumph, if he can shew some difference between the Cyprianic Age and our way." Now, dear Sir, I thank you kindly for so good an office. And so I proceed,

XII.—III. To your next attempt, which is to prove, that by the Scottish Constitution of Episcopacy, the sole power of ordination and jurisdiction is lodged in the Bishop's person. Here you have shewn me no favour, and therefore I must do for myself as well as I can. All your proofs are taken from the canons and constitutions Ecclesiastical, appointed by the King's authority for the Church of Scotland, anno 1635.[1] Now in the first place, pray be ingenuous, Sir, and tell me, do not you know, that those canons never took effect in the Church of Scotland? Do not you know that they never were insisted on as the canons of the Church of Scotland, (as being in force), by our Bishops, since the restitution of Episcopal Government, anno 1662? Do not you know that there was this good reason for it, that they were enjoined only by royal authority, never by authority properly Ecclesiastical? That even that excellent King who enjoined them, when he saw they did not well suit the then inclinations of the nation, retracted all the authority he had once given them, and thereby deprived them of all colour of pretence to be the canons of the Church of Scotland? If you know these things, (and you are surprisingly a stranger to our Scottish affairs if you know them not), how can you imagine that I will allow of arguments taken from those canons to prove that by the Scottish constitution, the Bishop is possessed of the sole power of jurisdiction and ordination? But this is not all.

XIII.—What have you adduced from those canons that could have solidly made for you, supposing they had been the standing canons of the Church of Scotland? All you bring for the Bishop's *sole power* of ordination, is the canon which is to be found Chap. 2, sect 3; the words are—"No person shall be hereafter received into holy orders, without due examination of his literature by the Archbishop or Bishop of the Diocese, or by their Chaplains appointed to that work, who shall examine every several party as they find cause." Hence you argue—"The examination of the candidate, and consequently the power of determining who

[1] [For the history of these Canons, *vide* "Lawson's Episcopal Church from the Reformation," chap. xi.—E.]

shall be ordained, is laid on the Bishop," &c. Now it is plain, that if you had drawn your Conclusion, it must have been to this purpose, *ergo*, by the Scottish Constitution, the Bishop has the sole power of ordination. Now let me imitate this way of reasoning in two or three instances, *e. g.* By the constant practice of the Church of Scotland, ever since Episcopacy was established, anno 1610, that is, both before and since the year 1635, the Presbyters of the respective Presbyteries have been the only examinators of those who were to enter into the ministry at any Church within the bounds of those Presbyteries; *ergo*, by the constant practice of the Church of Scotland, even under Episcopacy, Presbyters have had the sole power of ordination. Again, all along under Episcopacy, nay, even under Presbytery, till the year 1649, patrons, for the most part laics, had the nomination of the person who was to be examined and ordained; *ergo*, patrons, though for the most part laics, had the sole power of both examination and ordination. Once more, by the Presbyterian principles, by your own principles, the principles you have often published and pleaded for, the people have the nomination and election of the candidates, &c. *Ergo*, by these principles the people have the sole power of both examination and ordination. Now, Sir, I take you bound to own the solidity of my reasonings, as much as I am to own the solidity of yours, until you shall shew some substantial difference between them.

XIV.—It were every whit as easy to shew how unsuccessfully you have cited divers of those canons (all you have cited) to prove the Bishop's sole power of jurisdiction. You argue, *e. g.* thus—A person ordained to a charge may not preach unless he be also licensed by the Bishop; *ergo*, the Bishop has the *sole power* of jurisdiction. And I argue every way as closely, when I say, that by a certain act of a certain General Assembly (I shall direct you to both the Assembly and the act, when you put me to it), no member of the Assembly, minister, or ruling elder, has liberty to speak, without leave first asked and obtained from the moderator; *ergo*, the moderator even of a Presbyterian Assembly has the sole power of jurisdiction. In short, there is not one of the canons you have produced, that by nineteen consequences can infer your conclusion. And, therefore, I will not trouble the reader with any more about them; and

I hope he will pardon my forbearance to give him further trouble, upon my promising to prove from these same canons (before I have done), that no such sole power, as G[ilbert] R[ule] pretends, is ascribed by them to the Bishop. In the meantime I proceed

XV.—IV. To G[ilbert] R[ule]'s fourth and last plea; which is, that I am singular in stating the controversy as I have done. He says—"He cannot guess what kind of animals I will make my Scottish Bishops,[1] because I do not give them the *sole power* of ordination and jurisdiction; and they must be a species of Bishops that never man pleaded for but myself; and he supposes my Lords the Bishops will give me small thanks for thus pleading their cause. And again,[2] he says,—"He always understood that the main thing debated between us (the Presbyterians) and the Prelatists, was about the sole power and jurisdiction and ordination, and that he is not alone in this; that the Synod of London, in their Vindication of Presbyterian Government, p. 24, and Smectymnuus, sect. 8, 9, propose the controversy in the same words; and that he thinks I will not find many, if any one, of either side, who handleth the question without respect to this power."[3] To the scurrilous part of this plea I shall say nothing. What gain he has made, of his always understanding the controversy to be stated on the *sole power*, may be considered in due time. It is indeed a matter of some weight, that I will not find many, if any one, of either side, who has stated it otherwise; if it be true, it is no small presumption against me; and therefore I shall try it as fully as is necessary, and as fairly as I can. And

XVI.—In the first place, I shall readily grant, that it is indeed very ordinary with those of his side to have their recourse to the solitude of power, as he somewhere calls it, [4] as if it were the great hinge of the controversy. Besides the Synod of London, Smectymnuus, and himself, it were easy to adduce a great many more of his party who labour zealously in the controversy, as if this were the main state of it. But I shall only at present take notice of one, namely his friend and fellow Principal, Thomas Forrester, Principal of the New College in St Andrews. I take notice of him for two reasons,—one is, that (just like G[ilbert] R[ule],) this T[homas] F[orrester], whether his adversaries

[1] Sect. 6, p. 5. [2] Sect. 6, p. 6. [3] Sect. 6, p. 6. [4] Sect. 17, p. 21.

will or no, will needs have the sole power to be the main thing to be controverted; the other, that he has something which seems to be peculiar to himself in this matter.

XVII.—1. Whether his adversaries will or no, he will needs have the Bishop's sole power to be the main thing controverted. This famous author has written two books, which I have seen; one under the title of "Rectius Instruendum," printed anno 1684; the other bearing the name of "The Hierarchical Bishop's claim to a Divine Right, tried at the Scripture Bar," &c. printed this current year 1699. In his "Rectius Instruendum,"[1] he fairly confesseth that the adversary against whom he wrote it, did make it compatible with Prelacy, that Presbyters should have an hand in the government; and yet all along, his great work is to batter down the sole power of Bishops.[2]

XVIII.—He runs the same course in his "Hierarchical Bishop's Claim." There he wrestles with three adversaries, Doctor Scott, Doctor Monro, and Bishop Honyman. I have not had the opportunity to consider Dr Scott; but sure I am, the other two were not advocates for the sole power of Bishops, as I shall shew hereafter. Yet this doughty author, in his writings against them, must pelt it, on every occasion, as if they had maintained it. Whoso would see how keenly he has been at it against Dr Monro, may consult the pages on the margin.[3] But the pleasantest work is with Honyman; for T[homas] F[orrester] frankly confesses that that learned Bishop did not plead for the sole power of Bishops. But what the better is the Bishop for that? "The surveyor," says T[homas] F[orrester] "doth but shuffle and obscure the true state of the question betwixt Episcopalians and Presbyterians, which is this, viz. upon our supposal of that authority and government ascribed in Scripture to Pastors or Presbyters, and their essential interest therein; how an officer, who is pretended to be distinct from them, and superior unto them, and *enhancing and concentering all their power in himself*, can be consistent with the Scripture prescriptions in point of

[1] P. 211.

[2] See p. 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 12, 22, 81, 84, 90, 92, 110, 128, 146, 147, 156, 157, 160, 175, 187, 211, 225, 230, 263, 277.

[3] P. 10, 16, 26, 29, 33, 34, 68, 119, 123, 128, 129, 138.

government?"[1] And having thus stated the controversy according to his own mind, and so, as he thought, he could find something to say, he mercilessly pursues the sole power upon all occasions.[2] Is not this very pleasant? And yet the same ingenious author, when he found it proper for him, could tell Dr Scott, and in a manner thereby reprove his ignorance, that our Scots Episcopalians, and many of the English, plead for such an Episcopal power as is managed in conjunction with Presbyters, and profess to own only such a fixed presidency of the Bishops over the Pastors in government, as allows them a share and interest therein, and do consequently disown what the Doctor asserts,—that the Bishop is the sole subject of government. And for this he refers the Doctor to Bishop Honyman, Part II. "Survey of Naphtali," (the very place in which he had complained that Honyman had misstated the question), and to Dr Burnet, to Bishop Lighton's two letters, and to Bishop Hall.[3] Must not this Principal be a pretty pleasant fellow? But I proceed.

XIX.—2. This author has something which seems to be peculiar to him in this matter, namely, that he frequently confounds a *negative voice* and a *sole power*, or at least makes them consistent. I am not willing to lie under the suspicion of being injurious to him; and therefore I shall transcribe his own words from his own books—"Let them (the Prelatists, says he) shew where the word Ἐπίσκοπος denotes such an officer as they have shapen out, viz. a Diocesan Prelate having *sole power* of ordination and jurisdiction over a whole diocese, with a *negative voice* and a *sole decisive suffrage* in the Church Judicatories thereof."[4] Again, "They (Presbyters) are subject to him (the Bishop) as their proper *sole* judge and censurer, by ecclesiastical censures of suspension, deposition, excommunication; the *decisive power* in Church Judicatories is properly his, for the most unanimous acts and conclusions of the Diocesan Synod fall under his cognizance to be ratified or cassat at his pleasure. He is the *sine quo non*, and hath a *negative voice* in the judicatories."[5] He defines a Scottish Prelate thus—"An ordinary Church officer assuming the government of some

[1] P. 2. [2] See p. 4, 5, 8, 11, 20, 22, 26, 28, 37, 55.
[3] Scots Pleadings Examined, p. 3. [4] Rectius Instr. p. 4. [5] *Ibid.* p. 6.

hundreds of congregations, as monopolized in him, and conveyed according to his pleasure unto the ministers thereof; having *sole power* in ordination and jurisdiction, and a *negative voice* in Church Judicatories, and whose proper work is ruling only, not feeding by doctrine."[1] He tells his adversary, that if he would conclude any thing to purpose, he must " prove the Prelate's *sole decisive power* and *negative voice* in judicatories."[2] And his adversary cannot shew, " that either the High Priests or any inferior priests, had the *sole decisive suffrage* in their Ecclesiastical Courts, or such a *negative voice* as the Prelates exercise and assume in their pretended Synods and Presbyteries."[3] And, " Did the Apostles (as our Prelates) assume a *sole decisive conclusive suffrage* and a *negative voice* over Church Judicatories, notwithstanding their extraordinary and high prerogatives?"[4] Further yet, " Our present Prelates are *sole* both in ordination and jurisdiction, and assume a *negative voice* in Church Judicatories."[5] Nay, he even confounds *chief* and *sole;* for accounting how Beza distinguishes the *Episcopus humanus* from the Diocesan Prelate,[6] whom his adversary pleaded for, he says, " this Diocesan Prelate, who hath the *chief* and *sole power* in ordination and jurisdiction, is the Satanical Bishop."

XX.—Neither has his head been clearer when he wrote his " Hierarchical Bishop's Claim," &c.; for even there, also, the *sole power* and the *negative voice* go hand in hand; for instance, in his " Examination of Dr Scott's Pleadings,"[7] he says, " the Prelate's *negative voice* and *sole decisive power* in judicatories, is point blank contrary to the Apostle's carriage in the Synod, Acts xv." And in his " Examination of Dr Monro's Pleadings," he discourses thus,[8] " The Bishop hath *sole absolute power* in ordination and jurisdiction over all pastors of the diocese. Timothy had no such authority, but only of an inspector and moderator for the time of his transient mission. The Bishops assume a *negative voice* in all judicatories in the diocese, which the Doctor here owns; for he will have them subject to no collegiate meeting of pastors. Had Timothy assumed this, he had contradicted and baffled the Apostle's carriage," Acts xv.

[1] Rectius Instr. p. 65. [2] P. 111. [3] P. 113. [4] P. 121.
[5] P. 212. [6] P. 180. [7] P. 3. [8] P. 129.

XXI.—It were easy to collect a great many more of this author's most mysterious notions about power; *e. g.* in his Examination of Dr Monro's Pleadings,[1] he says—"The Presbyterians hold that the Apostles had a *supreme* (though *collateral* and *equal)* and spiritual power and authority over officers and members of the Church." Yes, Sir, it was a *supreme power*, and it was a *power over* both officers and members, and yet it was but *collateral* and *equal.* Again, he will have the Doctor to prove that Timothy had an office "formally and properly Episcopal, or such as did import a *sole* and *singular* authority, *paramount* to all the *ordinary officer's authority* in the Church, and *exclusive* thereof."[2] Did you ever see more mysteries in one short sentence? *Sole* and *singular* authority are one and the same thing; and this sole and singular is *paramount* to the authority of all the ordinary officers; so that there are ordinary officers besides the Bishop, who have authority; for how can his be *paramount* to theirs, if they have none? And yet, whatever authority they have, it is certain they have no authority; for the Bishop's authority is not only paramount to their's, but *exclusive* thereof. It were easy, I say, to collect a great many more such superfine notions from this author's writings; but the specimen I have given is enough for my purpose; for

XXII.—What can be greater nonsense than to suppose that the *sole power* of jurisdiction, and a *negative voice*, are one and the same thing? or that they can consist, or dwell in one another's neighbourhood? If the Bishop has the *sole power*, then it is plain demonstration that no other body can have *any power;* but if no other body has *any power*, how can the Bishop have a *negative voice?* Can you conceive a *negative voice* without relation to *other voices?* But how can there be *other voices* if there is no *power* to *produce* them? and where can be any power to produce them, if *all power* be *solely* in the Bishop? Neither can *chief* and *sole* consist any better; who can conceive a *chief power* without a relation to some power or powers which are *not* chief? You may as well conceive a superior without an inferior, or a first without a second. And what sense is it to talk of Church Judicatories any manner of way contradistinct from

[1] P. 98. [2] P. 119.

the Bishop (which yet you see this author ordinarily does), if the *sole power* of jurisdiction, and, by consequence, of judging, be lodged in the Bishop's person? What sort of judicatories can they be which have no power to judge? And how can they have any power to judge, if the Bishop have the sole power of judging?

XXIII.—By what I have thus briefly remarked concerning this author, (an author inferior to none of his tribe for confidence and insolence, and a petulant contempt of his adversaries), the reader may see how keen he has been against the sole power of Bishops, as if that had been the main thing controverted; and withal, he may competently judge (especially if he remembers the little hint I gave before[1] of his learning and skill in antiquity) whether this Principal's books can have such strength of reason in them as they are commonly pretended to contain by those of the party, and whether there is reason to proclaim them unanswerable. For how can we expect either much "sound" or much "sanctified reason, in a suitable methodical invention" (it is one of his own flights in his Examination of the Surveyor's[2] Pleadings) from one who has not only written so licentiously and bitterly as he has done, but also all along has blundered so extravagantly, and disgorged so much substantial and surprising nonsense about the state of the main question? And so I leave him for this bout, and return to G[ilbert] R[ule], our other learned Principal.

XXIV.—Though I have thus readily granted that it is very ordinary with those of G[ilbert] R[ule]'s side, to have recourse to the solitude of power, as if it were the only hinge of the controversy; yet he must not think he has gained so much as one inch of ground, unless I cannot find any of my side who has stated the question as I have done; for if he and his party are so willing to misstate it, who can help it? or what can they gain by it? I come therefore, now, to try if there have been any advocates for Prelacy who yet have not pleaded for the Bishop's *sole power* in jurisdiction and ordination. And here I might very fairly make short work of it; for besides that which his brother T[homas] F[orrester] has so frankly confessed concern-

[1] Chap. II. sect. xxix. and xl.

[2] P. 66.—[Honyman, Bishop of Orkney, who wrote the "Survey of Napthali."—E.]

ing our Scottish Episcopalians, and many of the English, viz. " that they do not plead for any such absolute power in Bishops."[1] Besides this, I say, even G[ilbert] R[ule] himself has fairly done my business, some years ago, in his " Rational Defence of Nonconformity." For there, in the third section of his third part, (which section he entitles " whether Diocesan Episcopacy be lawful ?") I read thus,[2] " It will contribute to our clear and sure procedure in this controversy (concerning the lawfulness of Diocesan Episcopacy) if we consider the difference and inconsistency that is among our Prelatic brethren about the Episcopacy that they assert, and the foundation on which they build it: as to the thing, some of them do so restrain the power of Bishops, denying both *sole ordination* and *sole jurisdiction* to them, that they make it little or no more but a presidency: so the learned and pious *Usher*, who is followed by *many* of the more *sober* and *learned* of that party——Others allow them a jurisdiction over other pastors of the Church, and exempt them from being liable to the censures of their brethren, (*i. e.* the Presbyters within their diocese), yet so as they ought not to rule *by themselves*, but with the consent of the pastors of the Church, who are to be their council."

XXV.—These, I say, are G[ilbert] R[ule]'s own words. Let others judge whether it was a defect of memory or ingenuity in him, that having written so in his " Rational Defence," &c. he should yet so confidently have said in his " Cyprianic Bishop Examined," " that never man but myself pleaded for Bishops without *sole power* of jurisdiction and ordination; and that I would not find many, if any one, that stated the controversy otherwise than concerning this *sole power*." For my part, I think it is enough that he has so fairly purged me of singularity in this matter; so very fairly, that if I were concerned for no more than barely to defend myself, I might freely forbear to add so much as one word more upon this subject. But I have indeed more in my prospect, no less than entirely to deprive G[ilbert] R[ule], and all his brethren hereafter, of this their common subterfuge, and to render them utterly inexcusable if ever they shall betake themselves to the sorry plea of the sole power,

[1] *Supra*, sect. xviii. [2] Sect. iv. p. 158, 159.

which I think shall be done to purpose if I can make these things appear ; 1. That the most and most eminent of the advocates for Prelacy, both in Scotland and England, profess to plead not for the Bishop's *sole*, but *chief power* in ordination and jurisdiction ; and so, that they fall in with me in my stating of the question. 2. That the constitution of neither Church ascribes such *sole power* to Bishops. And 3. That the true state of the question is indeed, Whether the Church ought to be governed by pastors acting in parity or imparity ?

XXVI.—1. I say, the most and most eminent advocates for Prelacy, both in Scotland and England, do not profess to plead for the *sole*, but for the *chief power*, &c. I begin with my own countrymen, and the first shall be,

XXVII.—1. King James VI. whom all must acknowledge to have had zeal enough for Episcopal government, and knowledge enough to temper it with. I cite him first, not so much for his quality, as that he is indeed the first Scottish author I have found particularly pleading for Episcopacy. This great King did not always order, in all schemes of ecclesiastical government which he either drew or approved of, that Bishops should neither ordain, nor do any considerable acts of jurisdiction, without the assistance of Presbyters, as afterwards I may have occasion to shew more fully. He not only makes *parity* that against which he levels all his arguments and inclinations, the preface to his ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚ. ΔΩΡ.[1] but after he was settled in England, in the Conference at Hampton Court, on January 14, anno 1603-4, he declared,—" He understood not why the Bishops, for the more dignity to so high and weighty a censure as excommunication, should not take unto them, for their assistants, the Dean and Chapter, or other ministers and chaplains of gravity and account, and so likewise in other censures, and giving of orders." Was this pleading for the sole power of Bishops ?

XXVIII.—2. Cowper, the learned Bishop of Galloway, in his Preface to his " Dicaiology," (published anno 1614,) tells that all that he undertook to maintain was, that no substantial point of discipline was changed in our Church (by the erection of Episcopacy, anno 1610) because Eccle-

[1] [Of the first Edition of this Book, 1599, 4to. only *seven* copies were printed.—E.]

siastical Synods formerly in use were still retained, and the censures of admonition, suspension, excommunication, the admission (*i. e.* the ordination) of pastors, and their deposition, and whatever else pertains to the matter of discipline, were not removed, but rectified and roborated, in as much as the power to moderate and exercise these censures was not left free to every one, but restored to the Bishop, to be used with the advice of his brethren," *i. e.* the Presbyters. And in the book itself,[1] he tells his adversary, Hume, " that all antiquity could inform him that a Bishop without a Presbytery is a head without a body, and a Presbytery without a Bishop a body without a head ; that by a Presbytery he understands that which Ignatius calls Συσήμα του Ἐπισκόπου the consistory of the Bishop, subordinate to him, and serving for assistance of him in weighty matters." And, sect. 138, he not only insists pretty fully in shewing that the Episcopacy then established did not substantially differ from the superintendency settled at the Reformation, but when Hume objects that the superintendents acted by advice, he answers thus—" good reason," (viz. that the superintendents did not claim a sole power), " see the law prescribed to Bishops of old, anno 1573, which is, that no Bishop admit (*i. e.* ordain) any minister without advice, (*i. e.* assistance or concurrence) of three well qualified ministers of the bounds :" " the same stands now," says he, " and can you say that any Bishop in our Church stands against this, except only that where the law binds them to use the advice of three, they use the advice of six, ten, or thirteen, if they may get them ? What say you against this, Mr David ? See you any other a constant form of Government in our Church ? See you any other Bishops now than were in the days of John Knox ?" Much more might be adduced from this Bishop: but this is enough.

XXIX.—3. Peter Hay, gentleman of North Britain, in his book, entitled " A Vision of Balaam's Ass," printed at London, anno 1616, (the 10th and 11th chapters whereof argue him to have been a zealous pleader for Episcopacy), proposes this question,[2] " what ought to be the temperate government of a Bishop ?" and answers thus, " they are to learn the arts of government from God himself ; who albeit

[1] Sect. 122, p. 117.

[2] See p. 200, 201.

he have both absolute and infinite power, so that he could, of the stones of the earth, raise up seed to Abraham, and bring any thing to pass suddenly and in a moment, in the generation of whatsoever of his creatures ; yet, for the maintenance of their order and policy, he doth adjoin to his working the ordinary concurrence of second and inferior causes, making things to go on by natural and mutual means. And that they ought to follow the example of Moses, in the Jewish rule of God's people, not as the Presbyterians do, following the architype for the laic elders, and refusing it for the prelacy ; they must not only imitate Moses where it serveth to establish their power, but also in that which St Jerome doth record of Moses, "*qui cum solus præesse populo haberet in potestate*," who having it in his will to be only over the people, yet he did adjoin unto him seventy to assist him." Thus he argues from both patterns, from the greater to the lesser ; as if he had said, if God, who has absolute power, and if Moses, who had once *sole power*, did so and so, much more ought Bishops to do it. That he reasons so is plain from what he adds, viz :—" That by the ancient canons, and the practice of the primitive Bishops, such as Ignatius, Cyprian, Ambrose, &c. the Presbyters concurred with the Bishop in the administration of the government and discipline." And " that this kind of government doth much ease the Bishops in the discharge of their office, and derogates nothing from their authority ;" " for who will say," says he, " that a temperate monarch who followeth his grave counsel doth hereby lessen his power ?"

XXX.—4. Archbishop Spottiswoode, as he has no where pleaded for the *sole power* of Bishops, so, in his " Refutatio Libelli," &c. printed at London, anno 1620, he says expressly, that " neither he, nor his colleagues, the rest of the Scottish Bishops, do pretend to any more power than the primitive Bishops had, or than was enjoyed by the Superintendents in this Church after the Reformation."[1] From which, methinks, the consequence is pretty obvious, viz.

[1] Nec aliud Episcoporum genussumus quam, qui ab incunabilis, Christianæ Religionis Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ præfuerunt, veterrimorum præsulum legitimi successores. Nec potestatem ullam nobis vindicamus, quam ab initio superintendentes, et eos subsequuti præsules, si per adversarios licuisset, non vindicassent ; ut absurda prorsus et ridicula sit illa sectarii distinctio in primum, secundum, et tertium Episcoporum genus, p. 89, 90. [Ed. Spott. Soc. vol. 1, Miscell. p. 61-2.—E.]

that neither he nor they claimed such power as G[ilbert] R[ule] makes the hinge of the controversy.

XXXI.—5. To the same purpose, it is pleaded by Dr Lindesay, Bishop of Brechin, in his "True Narrations of the Proceedings of the Assembly at Perth," anno 1618, and his "Just Defence of the Articles therein concluded," &c. printed at London, anno 1621. For, upon all occasions, he affirms our Superintendents to have been Bishops, and he never pleads for more power than was exercised by them. Thus having asserted (and justly too) that Episcopacy was sworn to in the Negative Confession, anno 1581, he attacks his adversary in these words—"I demand what is the cause that you and your followers do not only refuse to obey, but improve and impugn the most principal point of policy set down in that book, (the First Book of Discipline), namely, the office of Bishops, whose provision, jurisdiction, power, and election, are particularly described in the first head of that Book, under the name of Superintendents?"[1] And, upon another occasion, viz. when discoursing of confirmation, his adversary having said that Episcopacy was abjured, anno 1581, he answers, by telling him that it was not "abjured but approved;" for there (by his adversary's confession) the policy set down in the First Book of Discipline was sworn to; but by that book Superintendency was established. "Now," says he,[2] "if you have sworn that this is lawful in the person of the Superintendent," viz. to visit Churches, &c. "how can you call it a damnable presumption, in the person of a Bishop, whose function and name is the same," &c.

XXXII.—6. To transcribe all that Dr Forbes has to this purpose in his "Irenicum," printed at Aberdeen, anno 1629, would require some sheets; nor is it needful, seeing he is so frequently cited, even by Presbyterians,[3] referring the reader, therefore, to the pages of that "Irenicum," cited on the margin.[4] I shall only transcribe one testimony

[1] Numeration 2d, p. 13. [2] Num. 3, p. 99.

[3] See Gillespie's English Popish Ceremonies, Part 3, p. 192. And Appendix to Jus Divinum Minist. &c. p. 130, 132, 134, 142. And Baxter's Third Disputation about Church Government, p. 346.

[4] Vide à pagina 160, ad. 148, ubi fusè tuetur ordinationes à solis Presbyteris peractas. Vide etiam, p. 194, cum Addend. 472, 473, et Propositionem quartam, p. 142, cum Addend. p. 468, et Propos. 9, p. 145, et Prop. 5, p. 43, et Prop. 13, p. 193, fusè, et p. 195, cum Addend. p. 473.

from his excellent "Instructiones Historico-Theologicæ,"[1] in which he rejects the sole power of Bishops in as express terms as the wit of man can imagine.

XXXIII.—7. Such being his sentiments, it were scarcely to be doubted that his colleagues, the rest of the Doctors of Aberdeen, (Scroggie, Leslie, Baron, Sibbald, and Ross,)[2] would have said as much had they had occasion; though they had left nothing upon record. But there is no need of this, for indeed they have said the same thing upon the matter in their duplies to the Covenanters; for there they not only make "Superintendents and Bishops all one, as to power," but they say expressly that "the legislative and obligatory power of the Church" (which I think even G[ilbert] R[ule] himself will not deny to be the noblest branch of the power of jurisdiction) "is only in Synods or Conventions" (not of Bishops solely, but) "of Bishops and Presbyters."[3]

XXXIV.—8. As little do the Bishops plead for the sole power of either ordination or jurisdiction, in their accurate declinature presented in their names by Dr Hamilton to the pretended General Assembly at Glasgow, anno 1638. On the contrary, more than once they approve of the constitution of such "General Assemblies as were ordered by law;" and I think G[ilbert] R[ule] needs not be told that in such Assemblies Presbyters had decisive voices. They do "acknowledge and profess that a General Assembly, lawfully called, and orderly convened, is a most necessary and effectual means for removing those evils wherewith the Church was then infested."[4] They "decline not the lawful trial of any competent judicatory in the kingdom, especially of a General Assembly lawfully constitute."[5] They do "most

[1] Lib. xvi. cap. i. sect. 12, ibi enim primordiali Episcoporum æqualitate contra pontificem Romanum, firmis testimoniis adstructâ, hæc habet: "Quando autem supremum in Hierarchia Ecclesiastica locum Episcopis vindicamus, contra injustam usurpationem Romani Pontificis, non excludimus Presbyteros ab Ecclesiæ gubernatione; nec Episcopo in sua diocesi potestatem tribuimus αὐτοκρατορικην, neque authoritatem δεσποτικην, vel absolutam aliquam concedimus monarchiam: Nam—accedimus judicio Catholicæ antiquitatis quæ cum Episcopo in regenda Ecclesia conjungit Presbyterium.

[2] [For notices of these "Worthies," *vide* Index to "Forbes Funerals," edited for the Spottiswoode Society, by Charles Farquhar Shand, Esq. 1845.—E.]

[3] 4th Duply, p. 97, 98. Edit. Aberdeen, 1663.

[4] See Large Declaration, p. 248.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 262.

humbly entreat his Grace (the King's Commissioner) to intercede with his Majesty, that he may appoint a free and lawful General Assembly, such as God's Word, the practice of the primitive Church, and the laws of the kingdom do prescribe and allow."[1] Indeed, they except only against the *decisive voices* of *ruling elders* in General Assemblies.[2] And I hope G[ilbert] R[ule] needs not be told the common axiom *exceptio firmat regulam in non exceptis;* that is, in plain Scotch, seeing they did only except against *the decisive voices of ruling elders*, they did not allow of *the decisive voices of preaching Presbyters.* But what needs more? They plainly allow of the "judicial power of Presbyteries acting by rule, and within their own sphere.[3]"

XXXV.—9. Dr Maxwell, sometime Bishop of Ross in Scotland, and afterwards Archbishop of Tuam in Ireland, (one of the Bishops who concurred in the aforesaid declinature, and, indeed, none of the meanest of them), in his accurate piece, entituled "Episcopacy not abjured in Scotland," which he wrote against the Act of the General Assembly of Glasgow, by which Episcopacy was condemned, has particularly declared himself to be no pleader for the sole power of Bishops. He has more than once affirmed, that the superintendency established at the Reformation was the same in substance with the Episcopacy he pleaded for.[4] But that which I shall take notice of, as sufficient for my purpose, (omitting other things for brevity,) is that which he has in his fifth chapter,[5] where, having told how Episcopacy was established, anno 1572, he proceeds to account how, anno 1573, certain limitations of the power of Bishops were added, which, he says, "were not very strict, and that no "Bishop can refuse them. Now, as he himself accounts, the first of those limitations was, "That the jurisdiction of Bishops in their ecclesiastical function should not exceed the jurisdiction of the Superintendents, which they had before, and continued to have at that time, viz. anno 1573; which jurisdiction," he says, "was no less than that which the Bishops in his time required." Now, it is certain and acknowledged by all, and frequently insisted on by our Pres-

[1] *Ibid.* p. 263. [2] *Ibid.* p. 254. [3] *Ibid.* p. 259.
[4] See ch. i. p. 9, ch. iii. p. 2, ch. iv. p. 42, ch. v. p. 48.
[5] Ch. v. p. 53, 54.

byterian brethren, that the Superintendents never claimed the sole power of either ordination or jurisdiction, which I desire the reader here to take notice of, once for all, as that without which the true force of divers of the former testimonies, (such as Cowper's, Spotwoods, and Lindesay's) cannot be so well perceived. Go we now forward with our present author—" The Second Limitation," as he accounts, " was that the Bishops should willingly be subject to the discipline appointed by the General Assembly, as members thereof. This likewise," says he, " is reasonable; and no Bishop will think himself exempted from the censure of a national assembly lawfully constituted according to the established and approved orders of the Church." And " the Fifth Limitation" was, " that the Bishops should give no collation of benefices without the advice of three qualified Ministers." This he not only allows to be of a piece with the rest, *i. e.* such as no Bishop can refuse, but he further adds, thus, " The Bishops of Scotland heretofore did astrict themselves further, for they were not accustomed to give collation to benefices (except it was to men of known worth in the exercise of the ministry before), without the advice of the whole brethren of the Exercise (or Presbytery) where the benefice lies, committing the whole tryal both of their life and doctrine to them, and according to their testificate, did accept or reject him who was presented." Here, besides his fair throwing up all pretensions to a *sole power*, we have a full confirmation of what I said before,[1] concerning the Presbyteries having the power of trying candidates for the ministry.

XXXVI.—10. The next prelatic advocate I am to produce, was every way one of the greatest that ever pleaded the cause, even no less a person than King Charles the Martyr. This incomparable Prince, on all occasions, discovers his inclinations (directed by the greatest reason) to have been for a well tempered constitution of Church government, not at all for lodging the sole power of either ordination or jurisdiction in the Bishop's person, particularly in his EIK. BAΣ.[2] having said, like an oracle—" That not only in religion, of which the Scripture is the best rule, and

[1] Sect. xiii. [2] Chap. 17.

the Church's universal practice, the best commentary, but also in right reason, and the true nature of government, it cannot be thought that an orderly subordination among Presbyters or ministers, should be any more against Christianity, than it is in all secular and civil governments, where parity breeds confusion and faction; that he could no more believe that such order is inconsistent with true religion, than good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony; and that it is not likely that God, who appointed several orders, and a prelacy in the government of his Church, amongst the Jewish Priests, should abhor or forbid them in Christian Ministers, who have as much of the principles of schism and division as other men," &c.—he subjoins thus, "Not that I am against the managing of this presidency and authority in one man, by the joint counsel and consent of many Presbyters; I have offered to restore that as a fit means to avoid those errors, corruptions, and partialities which are incident to any one man, also to avoid tyranny, which becomes no Christians, least of all, Churchmen; besides, it will be a means to take away that burden and odium of affairs which may lie too heavy on one man's shoulders, as, indeed, it did formerly on the Bishops here." What can be plainer than it is here, that his Majesty was for further limiting the power of the English Bishops than had been done by the former constitutions of that Church? And yet, I hope hereafter to make it appear, that even by the former constitutions of that Church, the Bishops had not the sole power of either jurisdiction or ordination. Again,

XXXVII.—In his debates with the divines while in the Isle of Wight, anno 1648, as I find them printed at the Hague, anno 1657, he discourses to the same purpose. Twice the divines insist on the *sole power* in their first paper,[1] in short, endeavouring to shew that the Episcopal government, which did at first obtain in the Church, did really and substantially differ from that which the honourable Houses of Parliament did desire the abolition of; they make this the main, if not the only difference—"That in the primitive times they find no vestiges of one claiming as his right, and due to himself *alone*, as a supreme order and

[1] P. 197 and 201.

degree, *all power* about ordination of Presbyters and Deacons, and *all jurisdiction*, &c." They have this answer from his Majesty,[1] that "he thinketh it well worthy the studies and endeavours of divines of both opinions, laying aside emulation and private interests, to reduce Episcopacy and Presbytery into such a well proportioned form of superiority and subordination as may best resemble the Apostolic and primitive times; so far forth as the different condition of the times, and the exigents of all considerable circumstances will admit, so as the power of Church government in the particular of ordination, which is merely spiritual, may remain auctoritative in the Bishop; but that power not to be exercised without the concurrence and assistance of his Presbytery.——Other powers of government which belong to jurisdiction (though they are in the Bishop, as before is expressed), yet the outward exercise of them may be ordered and disposed or limited by the sovereign power, to which, by the laws of the place, and the acknowledgment of the Clergy, they are subordinate." To which proposal, the divines, in their next paper,[2] do fairly refuse to give a categorical answer. Once more,

XXXVIII.—His Majesty, as appears from "Bibliotheca Regia" printed at London anno 1659, at the Treaty of Uxbridge, anno 1644,[3] offered this for one article to the Parliament—"That the Bishops shall exercise no act of jurisdiction or ordination without the consent and counsel of the Presbyters, who shall be chosen by the Clergy of each diocese, out of the learnedest and gravest ministers of that diocese." And at the Treaty in the Isle of Wight,[4] though his Majesty would by no means consent to the total abolition of Episcopacy—and all that could be extorted from him was only a consent to the suspension of the exercise of it for three years—yet he was satisfied, that after those three years Bishops should be limited to the counsel and assistance of Presbyters. And particularly as to ordination —"his Majesty doth intend, and will consent, that Bishops shall not receive any into Holy Orders without the consent of a limited number of Presbyters, to be chosen in such manner as shall be agreed on by his Majesty and his Two

[1] Pap. 2, p. 213.
[2] Pap. 2, p. 249, 250.
[3] Part i. sect. 4, Pap. 15.
[4] *Ibid.* Pap. 17.

Houses for that purpose."[1] And in his Final Answer to the Parliament's Papers concerning Church government, given in by their commissioners on the 11th and 20th days of November,[2] his Majesty tells them he is willing, "the Apostolic Bishop being preserved, that all the additional power and jurisdiction which his Majesty's predecessors have bestowed upon that apostolic function, be taken away, as Archbishops, Deans, Chapters, &c., leaving nothing but what (as his Majesty believes to be proved by his papers to their divines) was clearly instituted by the Apostles themselves." It had been easy to have collected more of his Majesty's concessions and sentiments to our present purpose, but these may be sufficient. Proceed we now to other Scottish advocates.

XXXIX.—11. Andrew Logie, sometime Archdeacon of Aberdeen, wrote a "Vindication of Episcopacy," and the "Nicknamed Unlawful Engagement," anno 1654, which was printed anno 1660; and throughout all that little work he still states the controversy (as it ought to be stated, that is) upon parity and imparity, never so much as once ascribing any thing like *sole power* to the Bishop. On the contrary, he says[3]—"That the order (of all Priests) stands but one and the same, admitting only a disparity of degree in the order;" and,[4] "you are to take heed well in this argument, that from *æquè ad æquale*, the consequence stands inconsequent; for under the law *Sacerdotium*, the Priesthood was but one and the same: they were all *æquè sacerdotes*, and yet there ceased not from hence to be a disparity of degree in one and the same order; for the High Priest *præ cæteris eminebat*, he emined above the rest; and so from that legal economy this order may be arcessed and instructed." And,[5] "why may there not be *impares gradus in regimine*, yea, and that in *æquali officio*, to avoid disorder and confusion?" Again,[6] "*Episcopatus et Presbyteratus* stand but *unus et idem* τάγμα admitting only a disparity of degree in the order." Would you have more from him to this purpose? All he would have is,[7] "That one be perfected over the rest for the preservation of good order, and keeping all things in a right frame, and shunning of confusion, upon a

[1] *Ibid.* Pap. 18. [2] *Ibid.* Pap. 21. [3] P. 5. [4] P. 6. [5] P. 7. [6] P. 9. [7] P. 15.

confused parity, *ad culpam* only, and not *ad vitam*, in case of abuse of his power to tyranny." Indeed, the same author, in another Treatise, entituled "Rain from the Clouds," &c. composed of twenty Μελέτηματα or Meditations, has laboriously defended the validity of Presbyterian ordinations through his whole 17th Μελέτημα And yet he is very positive for the divine right of Episcopacy. However, that he was not—could not—be a sole-power-man, is so easily deducible from the account I have given of his principles, that I need not insist on it.

XL.—12. The author of "The Seasonable Case," published anno 1662, pleads for no more than a negative voice to the Bishop; you may see for this pages 11, 16, 29. For brevity, I shall only transcribe these words from page 38—"What reason is there to bend the Covenant against the present Episcopacy of Scotland, which is established to govern the Church (not excluding, but) with the consent of Presbyters, with as great moderation as any was in the Primitive Episcopacy?"

XLI.—13. Honyman, Bishop of Orkney, or whoever was the author of the "Second Part of the Survey of Napthali," printed anno 1669, is as plain as can be. He not only says [1] that "the difference between the two (*i. e.* Episcopacy and Presbytery), is like that between *Manus aperta* and *Manus clausa*; Episcopacy is diffused in the Presbytery, but contracted in a single Bishop, yet so as to be managed with the consent of Presbyters." But more fully and plainly over again, thus[2]—"Though jurisdiction be attributed to the Church, it is nothing against us, who donot grant the exercise of Church jurisdiction to one single person acting *solely*, or to a Bishop *excluding* the counsel and assistance of Presbyters: as we approve well of that which is so often inculcated by ancient Ignatius in his Epistles"—"*Let nothing be done in Church Government without or separately from the Bishop*," "so we allow the moderation of the Fourth Council of Carthage," chap. 23—"Ut Episcopus nullius causam audiat absque præsentia clericorum suorum, alioqui irrita erit sententia Episcopi, nisi clericorum præsentia confirmetur." Have you not here to an ace the question stated as I stated it?

[1] P. 192. [2] P. 206.

XLII.—14. Bishop Leighton (as I learn from the "Case of Accommodation," written by a most zealous Presbyterian, and printed anno 1671), did most expressly disclaim all pretences to *sole power* in the Articles he proposed to the dissenting brethren in the Conference at Paisley. For the second of those Articles runs thus—"That all church affairs shall be managed in Presbyteries and Synods by the free vote of Presbyters, or the major part of them." And the fourth thus—"That intrants being lawfully presented by the patron, and duly tried by the Presbytery, there shall be a day agreed on by the Bishop and the Presbytery for their meeting together, for their solemn ordination and admission."[1] And if this venerable person was the author of the Two Letters examined by the author of the "Case of Accommodation," he has fairly disowned all pretensions to *sole power*, as mortal man could do it. For thus he begins his Second Letter—"Sir, the question between us is not concerning Bishops governing absolutely by themselves and their delegates, but concerning Bishops governing in conjunction with Presbyters in Presbyteries and Synods." And a little after—"If they (the dissenting brethren) shall say they are not against a fixed President or Bishop —— but that the question is about their *power*, then we beg it may be so. Let that be all the question betwixt us, and then we hope the controversy will be quickly ended; for we trust we shall be found not at all desirous to usurp or effect an undue *power*, but rather to abate of that *power* which is reasonable, and conform even to Primitive Episcopacy, than that a schism should continue in the Church upon that score."[2]

XLIII.—15. Dr Burnet is every whit as plain in his "Conferences," printed at Glasgow anno 1673, for he says, that "according to his notion of Episcopacy, however the Bishop may have for work, the chief trial of all those who are to be ordained, yet the ordinations ought not to be so performed by him as to exclude the assistance and concurrence of Presbyters both in the previous trial, and in the ordination itself: and as for jurisdiction, though the Bishop hath authority to oversee, reprove, and admonish the clergy, yet in all acts of public jurisdiction, as he ought not to

[1] Case of Accom. p. 2. [2] *Ibid.* p. 103.

proceed without their concurrence, so neither ought they, without his knowledge and allowance, determine about ecclesiastical matter."[1] Again—" As for the *sole power* of ordination and jurisdiction, I am sure none among us do claim it, but willingly allow the Presbyters a concurrence in both these." Again[2]—" Discover," says he to his adversary, " where the guilt lieth, of fixing one over a tract of ground who shall have the *chief* inspection of the ministry, and the *greatest* authority in matters of jurisdiction ; so that all within that precinct be governed by him with the *concurring votes* of the other Presbyters." [3] Once more—" It is a different thing to say that no ordination nor greater act of jurisdiction should pass without the Bishop's consent or concurrence (which is all I shall pretend to, and is certainly most necessary for preserving order and peace), from asserting that the *sole power* for these stands in the Bishop's person." [4]

XLIV.—16. The author[5] of the book entituled " The Reformed Bishop," printed anno 1679, makes it his work in his 12th Article [6] to shew that " Bishops ought to do nothing without the concurrence of their Presbyters." He reasons for it from that maxim—" Quod omnes tangit ab omnibus tractari debet." He affirms, that " by the common practice of the Primitive Church, Bishops did nothing without their Presbyters ;" and that " of old Presbyters, and many times Deacons, had decisive voices in provincial councils." He has more to this purpose in the prosecution of his 13th Article. And in the conclusion of his book[7] he says—" He cannot conclude better than with a approbation of what King Charles I. has said in his EIK. BAΣ." And then transcribes from the 17th Chapter of that admirable book the words which you have above [8]—" Not that I am against the managing of this Presidency," &c.

XLV.—17. That the author of " The Differences of the Times" was no pleader for the *sole power* of Bishops, is plainly enough confessed by his adversary T[homas] F[orrester], who tells us the " Informer "—so he calls Forrester, the author of the " Differences," &c.—" makes it compatible with Prelacy, that Presbyters should have an hand in the

[1] Conf. 4, p. 310. [2] *Ibid.* 320. [3] P. 332. [4] P. 337.
[5] [Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Aberdeen.—E.]
[6] P. 123. [7] P. 299, 300. [8] Sect. 36.

government of the Church,"[1] as hath been already observed.

XLVI.—18. A C , M. A. in his "Essay concerning Church Government," out of the excellent writings of Calvin and Beza, published anno 1689, and digested *more geometrico*, gives us this for his third definition—"The President Bishop is he, who, from his office, preeminent to other ministers, is invested with a fixed power of ordination regulated by canons, and of jurisdiction balanced by assisting ministers." And again, in his demonstration of his Second Proposition, he has it thus, viz. that "His President Bishop," the Bishop he pleads for, "is invested with a fixed power of ordination and jurisdiction regulated by canons, and balanced by assisting ministers." This is so very plain, that even T[homas] F[orrester] himself, who wrote the "Counter-Essay," a man of extraordinary courage, had not yet so much of it as to charge him with maintaining the *sole power*.[2]

XLVII.—19. The author[3] of the "Ten Questions concerning Episcopal and Presbyterian Government in Scotland," in his Resolution of the First Question, doth so manifestly reduce the Episcopal power to a negative voice over the Presbyters within his district, and allow him only a "power of ordination and jurisdiction regulated by canons, and balanced by assisting presbyters," that G[ilbert] R[ule] himself, in his answer to that book, was even forced to come to that which is indeed the true state of the question, and say that his adversary had "overlooked that which is the *chief*, yea, the *only* question, on which the controversy between the Prelatists and Presbyterians doth turn, viz. whether the government of the Church should be in the hands of a single person or a community?" And because this was not distinct enough, (as indeed it was not), he gives it over again, and much better, in these words, "whether the rulers of the Church ought to manage that work in parity, or one should manage it as supreme, and the rest in subordination to him!" Thus, I say, G[ilbert] R[ule] himself may remember how one stated the controversy, and how he counter-stated it; but of this more hereafter.

[1] Rect. Instruend. p. 211. [2] Counter-Essay, p. 23.
[3] [Alex. Cunningham.—E.]

XLVIII.—20. A[lexander] M[onro], D.D. in his excellent "Enquiry into the New Opinions," &c. not only tells us that "the first and original rule of Ecclesiastical government was, that nothing was to be done without the Bishop, no, not those acts of Ecclesiastical power which were within the compass of the priestly order,"[1] thereby most plainly making the Episcopal power to consist in the Bishop's having a *negative voice*. He not only expressly affirms that "in ancient times a Bishop and his Presbyters governed the Ecclesiastical affairs of such a city and its territories,"[2] thereby notoriously ascribing governing power to Presbyters as well as to Bishops. He not only nowhere, no, not so much as once, ascribes the *sole power* of either ordination or jurisdiction to Bishops; but even G[ilbert] R[ule] himself, in his Good Old Way Defended,[3] takes notice of the Doctor's allowing to Presbyters a share of "determining, or decisive power about that which must be received as the infallible truth of God, together with the Bishops;" and from thence infers, that by the Doctor's own confession, Bishops have not the *sole authority* in the Church. 'Tis true, G[ilbert] Rule says "this might have been through oversight," viz. that the Doctor allowed them any share of such power, but certainly he had no grounds for saying so; neither can I see what could move G[ilbert] R[ule] to say so, unless it was that he found it convenient for his interests to have his reader believe that the Doctor was an advocate for the *sole power* of Bishops, though he sometimes oversaw himself, and said things inconsistent with it.

XLIX.—So many Scottish advocates for Episcopacy have I seen, and not so much as one of them pleading for the Bishop's *sole power* of ordination or jurisdiction; not so much as one of them making that a bad constitution of a Church, by which such *sole power* is not lodged in the Bishop's person; not so much as one of them (so far as I remember) using the phrase of *sole power* in such an impropriating and exclusive sense, unless it was (as not a few of them have done) to reject it; nay, on the contrary, all of them, not one excepted, either in express terms, or by easy consequence, affirming that they pleaded only for a *chief power*, &c.; all of them, not one excepted, justifying and

[1] P. 161. [2] P. 163. [3] P. 10.

approving, and satisfying themselves with such a constitution as that by which Presbyters are not excluded from having an hand both in acts of ordination and jurisdiction. And I dare challenge G[ilbert] R[ule] to produce me so much as one Scottish man that ever pleaded that the *sole power* of ordination ought or should be lodged in the Bishop's person, or affirmed that it was contrary to any Divine law, or any canon of any ancient council, or any principle of right reason, or any manner of way, a bad constitution, by which Presbyters, in a due dependence on their Bishop, are admitted to a share of both the aforesaid powers. And now, I think, I might very fairly leave it to the reader to determine, whether G[ilbert] R[ule] had reason to make me singular in stating the question as I stated it, or to say, that I would not find many, if any one, of either side, who handled the controversy without respect to *sole power*.

L.—But perhaps when G[ilbert] R[ule] said so, he had forgot that there were ever any Scottish advocates for Prelacy, and he had only the English in his eye. Come we therefore next to try, whether the learned English advocates for Prelacy have all pleaded for the Bishop's incommunicable right to the *sole power* of ordination and jurisdiction. And here we enter into a very large field: for the learned English who have laboured in this controversy are almost innumerable. Neither is it to be imagined that one, in my circumstances, can cite either all, or the greater part of them, nor, indeed, is it necessary; for if I can find any one, I have done my business against G[ilbert] R[ule]—how much more, if I shall find many?

LI.—1. Let us begin with Archbishop Whitgift (the first Englishman I know, that maintained Episcopacy against the Presbyterians), who, in his "Defence of the Answer to the Admonition," &c., published anno 1574, tells us what he had said in his Answer to that Admonition, viz. "that one prince may suffice to govern one kingdom; and one archbishop one province, as chief and principal over the rest; one bishop, one diocese; one pastor, one parish;" fairly importing, that as the superiority of the prince to the archbishop, or of the archbishop to the bishop, does not evacuate their respective powers, so neither does the superiority of the

bishop, the power of the parish minister.[1] And more directly in the Defence itself, he expressly approves St Chrysostom in his commentary on 1 Timothy 3, where he plainly "ascribes ruling power to Presbyters."[2] Again, "We give no greater authority to either Archbishop or Bishop, than the Consul or Prætor had among the Romans, or a Master and President in a college."[3] And in another place he compares the Bishop to the Mayor of a city.[4] Now I am apt to think, that G[ilbert] R[ule] himself may be induced to confess that a Roman Consul or Prætor, or a Principal of a college, or a Mayor of a city, have not the sole power of government lodged in their persons. Once more, the same great Prelate, discoursing of excommunication (none of the most ignoble acts of jurisdiction) says,[5] "that he did never so give the authority of excommunication to the Bishop alone, but that he thought he might have other assistance joined with him, for the execution of it, if the order of the Church so required."

LII.—2. Mr Hooker, in his excellent books of ecclesiastical policy, is every whit as favourable. He gives us the state of the controversy in these words,[6]—"the inequality which they (the Presbyterians) complain of, is, that one minister of the word and sacraments should have a permanent superiority above another, or, in any sort, a superiority of power mandatory, judicial, and coercive over other ministers. By us, on the contrary side, inequality, even such inequality, as unto Bishops being ministers of the word and sacraments, granteth a superiority permanent above ministers, yea, a permanent superiority of power mandatory, judicial, and coercive over them, is maintained a thing lawful and good. For (as he goes on) one pastor hath superiority of power over another, when either some are authorized to do things worthier than are permitted to all, or some are preferred to be *principal* agents, the rest agents with dependency and subordination." And doth he not explain the matter by the enstance of the Presbyters of Ephesus, who were intrusted with the government in subordination to St Paul?[7] Indeed he most plainly ascribes to

[1] P. 655. [2] P. 387. [3] P. 396. [4] P. 398. [5] P. 673.
[6] Lib. 7, Sect. 3, p. 375, edit. 1676. [7] *Ibid.* sect. 5, p. 377.

the Bishop a *chiefty* only and not a *solitude* of power (as G[ilbert] R[ule] calls it) in acts of jurisdiction. Take his own words, "touching that other chiefty, which is of jurisdiction; among the Jews, he who was highest, through the worthiness of peculiar duties incident into his function, in the legal service of God, did bear always in ecclesiastical jurisdiction the *chiefest sway*.—The Nethenims were subordinate unto the Levites; the Levites unto the Priests; and they all unto the High Priest, &c."[1] And then he brings all home to his purpose, by telling how St "Cyprian deemed it no wresting of Scripture to challenge as much for Christian Bishops as was given to the High Priests among the Jews, and to urge the law of Moses, as proving it most effectually;" and that St Jerom also thought it a "good argument to ground the office of Bishops upon it."[2] Once more—having cited Calvin, as confessing that in the primitive times he who was called Bishop had a power like to that of the Roman Consul, he subjoins,[3] "Thus much Calvin being forced by the evidence of truth to grant, doth yet deny the Bishops to have been so in authority, at the first, as to bear rule over other ministers; wherein, what rule he doth mean, I know not; but if the Bishops were so far in dignity above other ministers, as the *Consuls* of Rome, for their year, were above other senators, *it is as much as we require;* and undoubtedly, if, as the Consuls of Rome, so the Bishops in the Church of Christ, have such authority, as both to direct other ministers, and to see that every one of them should observe that which *their common consent* hath agreed on; how this could be done by the Bishop not bearing rule over them, for mine own part I must acknowledge that my poor conceit is not able to comprehend."

LIII.—3. Sutclivius, in his book "De Presbyterio," not only acknowledges that in the "primitive times Presbyters governed in conjunction with Bishops:"[4] he not only makes Presbyters as well as Bishops successors to the Apostles, and that, as such, they have the power of the keys;[5] but also in most express terms, he allows of an "ecclesiastical senate of Presbyters to assist the Bishop in acts of government."[6] For having cited that famous testimony

[1] P. 382. [2] P. 383. [3] P. 384.
[4] Cap. 1. [5] Cap. 10. [6] Cap. 13.

of St Jerome's—" Et nos habemus in Ecclesia senatum nostrum," as much insisted on by the Disciplinarians to prove the order of *Ruling Elders;* and having said that no force of logic could squeeze Ruling Elders out of that testimony, he gives this reason for it, that " Jerome every where makes the ministers of the Word Elders, and in a certain place little less equal than Bishops;" and then he adds—" Ex quibus si senatum aliquem desideravit, minimè quidem improbamus;" " if St Jerome (says he) desired to have such a senate—a senate composed of such Elders, we are not at all against it."

LIV.—4. Dr Downam, in his Defence of his Sermon preached at the consecration of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, on Revelations i. 20 (which Defence was published anno 1611), has many things to our present purpose. His adversary still insisted on the *sole power*, and the Doctor as often rejects it, and removes it from the state of the controversy. For instance, his adversary had said that it behoved the Doctor to prove, " that the Apocalyptic Angels had *sole power* of ordination and jurisdiction." And the Doctor replies,[1] " But where do I say, in all the sermon, that the Bishops had the sole power of ordination and jurisdiction? Where do I deny, either that Bishops did or might use the assistance of their Presbyters for either, or both; or that, in defect of Bishops, both the one and the other might be performed by Presbyters? In a word, where do I deny all power either of ordination or jurisdiction to Presbyters?" And so he goes on to tell, that " there are too many calumniations, whereby his refuter and his consorts did use to disgrace his sermon with their followers; and one of them was, that he ascribed so the *sole power* of ordination and jurisdiction to Bishops, as though the Presbyters had no jurisdiction, or as though those Churches had no lawful ministers which have not such ministers to ordain them." If the reader would have more to this purpose, he may consult the pages on the margin,[2] particularly page 68, for there he thus—" But where, good Sir, do I say that Bishops must have the *sole power* of ordination, which you have so oft objected, and now repeat? Make you no conscience of publishing untruths? Cannot Bishops be superior to other

[1] Lib. 3, cap. 1, p. 21, 22.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 52, 68, 85.

ministers in the power of ordination and jurisdiction, which is the thing which I maintain, unless they have the *sole power ?*"

LV.—He is as plain about jurisdiction as about ordination; for in his very address to that subject he thus—"Here the reader is to observe what is by me propounded to be proved, not that the Bishops had or have the *sole power* of jurisdiction, the defence whereof the refuter every where would fain force upon me; but that they are and were superior in the power of jurisdiction or government. I deny not the Presbyters which have charge of souls, to have jurisdiction, both severally in their parishes, and jointly in Provincial Synods."[1] Then he proceeds to show that it was so in the Primitive Church, Nay, at last he turns angry at his adversary for coming over and over so very frequently with his *sole power;* for these are his words on one occasion—"Whence cometh this *sole*, I pray you, which hath so oft been foisted in? I fear greatly from an evil conscience, resolved to oppugn and deface the truth: Cannot the Bishop be superior to Presbyters in the power of jurisdiction, unless they have (as none have) the *sole power* of jurisdiction?"[2] And when his refuter is at it again, in the next page,[3] "God amend that soul," says the Doctor, "that so often foisteth in that *sole* besides my meaning and my words." Once more—"*Sole sovereignty!* O defiled conscience, which ceaseth not to ascribe such odious and absurd assertions to me!"[4]

LVI.—Indeed, so peremptorily and zealously did this learned advocate remove G[ilbert] R[ule]'s solitude of power from the state of the question, that both Mr Andrew Melvin and Mr David Calderwood do acknowledge he did it, and cite him for it.[5] So that it seems Blondel has not been well acquainted with Downam, who, if my memory does not fail me, is the only Protestant advocate whom he cites as maintaining the sole power, in his "Apology for St Jerome's Opinion." But perhaps Blondel understood not the English language, and so had not read Downam, but taken his accounts of him from Gersom Bucer, which may be some

[1] Lib. 3, cap. 5, p. 110. [2] P. 118. [3] P. 119. [4] P. 126.
[5] Melvin contra Tilenus, cap. 9, sect. 15, c. 10, sect. , et cap. 23, sect. 7. Cald. Altar. Dam. p. 115.

kind of apology for him; but what apology can be made for Mr Forrester, who, in his "Examination of Dr Monro's Pleadings," writes thus—"But as to the Episcopal rectoral power, the Doctor cannot be ignorant that his fellow pleader, Bishop Downam, in his Defence (with whom the Doctor will not desire to justle and deal strokes), is clear and *positive* in this assertion of the Bishop's *sole authority* in government?"[1] But I proceed.

LVII.—5. Both the aforesaid Scottish authors (Melvin and Calderwood) do acknowledge as much concerning the learned Bishop Bilson,[2] and justly; for that great person, in his excellent book, "De Perpetua Ecclesiæ Gubernatione," as he doth no where plead for the Bishop's incommunicable right to the *sole power* of either ordination or jurisdiction, so, on the contrary, he not only shows himself abundantly satisfied with it, if a *negative voice* be allowed to the Bishop; in his address to the reader,[3] he not only every where acknowledges Presbyters to have had *power*, and to have *concurred* with their Bishops in the administration of the government in the primitive times,[4] pleading always zealously for such an establishment as obtained in those times; but also, more than once or twice, he expressly declares himself willing and ready to allow to Presbyters a share in the government, as may appear by the testimonies on the margin.[5]

[1] P. 139. [2] Melvin, cap. 16, sect. 14; Cald. p. 267. [3] P. 24, 25.

[4] P. 171, 173, 174, 175, 207, 208, 210, 218, 224, 232, 234, 242, 243, 257, 284, 345, 352, 354, 355, 357, 362, 398, 415.

[5] In qualibet Ecclesia civitateque, quæ Presbyterium suis sumptibus alere possint, Deus unum aliquem, vitandi dissidii et discordiæ causa, *supremum* esse voluit, qui *pastorali et patria potestate* gubernaret, tam Presbyteros, qui *administri* ipsius sunt, quam populum, qui subjiciuntur ei, juxta leges divinas pariter et humanas: quarum executionem illius fidei potissimum commisit, quia *Rector et Inspector* reliquorum est, quem Episcopum appellamus. Illius ego quidem potestatem *moderationis*, non *dominationis* loco habeo, &c. p. 352.

Et p. 360. Sic paritatis vindices alloquitur—"primum Episcopo jus et auctoritatem divino jure debitam concedite; deinde quoscunque debetis, ei socios adjungite."

Et p. 362. Si de canonica Episcoporum auctoritate constaret, de tyrannica facile inter nus conveniret.

Et p. 369. Conceptis hisce verbis, omnibus quibus cura animarum commissa, clavium etiam pro rata potestatem concedit—"ad nos quod attinet, et si clavium potestatem omnibus pastoralem animarum curam habenti-

LVIII.—6. Dr Morton, in his "Catholick Appeal for Protestants," in one place, reckons up "Four new and notable deformities (as he calls them) concerning the Popish constitution of Synods;" and the second is, "That in a Synod Protestants require that it may be free, as well for priests, as for Bishops, to have *definitive voices*."[1] And in another place he calls that Popish doctrine which ascribes to Bishops *only* the property of definitive voices in a Synod, both *new* and *naught*.[2] Was he for the Bishop's *sole power* of jurisdiction?

LIX.—7. Dr Field is cited to this purpose, even by Calderwood himself,[3] and with reason; for this learned Doctor is so far from attributing the *sole power* of ordination to Bishops that more than once, in his Books of the Church, he zealously maintains the validity of Presbyterial ordinations,[4] in cases of necessity. He does not allow the Bishop, in any case, to ordain *alone*, or without the concurrence of Presbyters,[5] unless in cases very extraordinary. It is true, he says once, that "Bishops alone have the power of ordination;"[6] but it is plain he means no more than that no man may regularly do it without them. And as for jurisdiction, it is not only certain that he allows the Bishop only an *eminent* and *peerless power*, and a *negative voice*,[7] but he says in so many words, "That it is most false that Bellarmine

bus communem esse, suo quodam gradu existimemus; ad evitandas tamen infinitas excommunicationum procellas, quæ in omnes Ecclesias parœciasque alloqui irruerent ac redundarent, et intolerandas inde lites atque pugnas necessariò consecuturas, si cuivis Presbytero pro arbitrio suo excommunicare liceret; ecclesiæ Dei prudentiam in eo maximè laudamus, quòd nemini inferioris alicujus loci excommunicandi facultatem, nisi de consensu et auctoritate Episcopi tribuerit."

Et p. 468. "Quod ad presbyteros attinet—Nec locum iis, nec *suffragia* in Synodis negamus, quamdiu docendi aut loquendi jus in Ecclesia retinent." Deinde referre pergit quemadmodum in Anglia presbyteri suffragiorum jure potiantur—"Itaque ad Synodos nostras, utì nostis, non Episcopi solum, sed Decani, Archidiaconi, aliique Clerici, tam de presbyterio primæ et Episcopalis Ecclesiæ, quam de aliis Diœcesis partibus vocantur. Et licet pontificii quidam *solis Episcopis* suffragia in conciliis esse contendant, quantum tamen vetus nostrarum Synodorum institutio, cum *nova* et jam nata illorum opinione discordet, ipsi videtis. Nec desunt exempla ab ultima antiquitatis memoria, quibus Ecclesiæ nostræ morem defendamus."

[1] Lib. 2, cap. 20, sect. 6. [2] Lib. 4, cap. 19, sect. 3.
[3] Alt. Dam. p. 267. [4] Lib. 3, cap. 39, lib. 5, cap. 27 and 56.
[5] Lib. 3, cap. 56. [6] Ib. p. 704. [7] Lib. 5, cap. 27.

hath, viz. that Presbyters hath no power of jurisdiction."[1] "They have," says he, "and ought to have *decisive voices* in Provincial Councils." In short, he allows of a reciprocal negative, if I may so call it, *i. e.* that as Presbyters can do nothing without their Bishop, so neither ought he to do any thing without them. Take it in his own words—"We make not the power of Bishops to be princely, but fatherly; so that, as the Presbyters may do nothing without the Bishop, so he may do nothing in matters of greatest moment and consequence, without their presence and advice."[2] And again —"for the government of each diocese and particular church resteth *principally* in *one* who hath an *eminent* and *peerless* power, without whom nothing may be attempted or done, yet are there *others* joined with him as *assistants*, without whose *counsel*, *advice*, and *consent*, he may do nothing of moment and consequence."[3] Once more—"the form of Church Government is mixt in such sort, that in respect of a diocese, or particular church, there is a special authority resisting in *one*, though not *excluding* nor neglecting the assistance and concurrence of *more*."[4]

LX.—8. Bishop Andrews, in his answer to Peter du Moulin's second letter, acknowledges, "Churches that want Bishops, that have only Presbyters, to be true Churches."[5] by fair consequence he must own the validity of Presbyterial ordinations, and acts of jurisdiction.

LXI.—9. Dr Davenant, in his "Determination," &c. printed at Cambridge, anno 1639, having laid aside the controversy, whether Bishops and Presbyters make different orders? as being a mere logomachy, comes to give the true state of the main controversy; and he gives it in these words,[6] "nobis sufficit si ostendamus eos qui appropriatè vocantur Episcopi, habere dignitatem altiorem, potestatem majorem et eminentiora officia sibi annexa quam habent alii Presbyteri," *i. e.*—it is enough if we can shew that those who are properly called Bishops have an higher dignity, a greater power, and more eminent offices annexed to them

[1] Lib. p. 499, and cap. 30, p. 513, fuse.
[2] Lib. 5, cap. 27, p. 499.
[3] Lib. 5, cap. 30, p. 511.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Nec tamen si nostra (via) *divini juris* sit, inde sequitur, vel quod *sine ea salus non sit*, vel quod stare non possit Ecclesia. Cæcus sit, qui non videat stantes sine eâ Ecclesias. Ferreus sit, qui salutem eis neget. Nos non sumus illi ferrei, &c. *Vide* Opusc. Posth. p. 176.
[6] Quest. 42, p. 187.

than other Presbyters. How far is this from stating it on the sole power? Indeed, all his arguments are levelled against *parity*. It is true, he says,[1] "certum est igitur potestatem ordinandi ex officio *solis Episcopis* convenire:" and "censuram tamen (excommunicationis) ab Episcopali *tantum* authoritate prodisse (nempe apud veteres), et tamquam actum Episcopalis jurisdictionis transiisse," &c.[2] And therefore, excommunication was called "Episcopalis mucro;" such words, I say, I grant he has used: but it is plain to any man who reads him, that he meant no more than that the *chief* power in ordination and excommunication belonged to the Bishop—that he did not mean a *sole* power, in an exclusive sense: He did not mean that such power belonged so incommunicably to the Bishop, as that none but he could exercise it, or be admitted to a share of it; for besides that he lived and died a Bishop in England, where, by the constitution, as I shall shew, Presbyters concur in both powers: besides this, I say, he peremptorily owns and asserts the "validity of Presbyterian ordinations," such as they have in the transmarine Protestant Churches.[3] And he commends the piety of the ancient Bishops, who, in acts of Government, did nothing without their Presbyters,[4] and affirms that Bishops have not a regal or despotic power, but only a pastoral and paternal one over their clergy.

LXII.—10. The excellent Mr Chillingworth, in his "Demonstration of the Apostolic Institution of Episcopacy,[5] begins it thus.—"If we abstract from Episcopal Government all accidentals, and consider only what is essential and necessary to it, we shall find in it no more but this—an appointment of one man of eminent sanctity and sufficiency, to have the care of all the Churches within a certain precinct or diocese, and furnishing him with authority *not absolute* and *arbitrary*, but regulated and bounded by laws, and *moderated*, by joining to him a convenient number of *assistants*," &c.

LXIII.—11. Archbishop Usher's scheme is so well known, and he is so plainly confessed, not only by Mr Forrester,[6]

[1] P. 191. [2] P. 192. [3] P. 191. [4] P. 192.

[5] This is transcribed as the sense of a great party in England, by the author of "The Principles and Practices of certain moderate Divines," &c. Part 3. sect. 118, p. 323, 324.

[6] *Supra*, sect.

but even by G[ilbert] R[ule] himself,[1] to have been no pleader for *sole power*, that it is needless to adduce his words.

LXIV.—12. Dr Holdsworth was of the same judgment with Usher, and subscribed to his scheme.

LXV.—13. Dr Joseph Hall doth always disclaim *sole power* in the plainest terms imaginable. T[homas] F[orrester] confesses so much of him, as we have heard.[2] But let us hear himself.—Thus, when Smectymnuus in their Answer to the Humble Remonstrance insisted much on it, he told them in his Defence of that Remonstrance, that they "spake enviously and untruly, when they said that the English Bishops impropriated the power of ordination to themselves."[3] And, "for this main point," says he, viz. the power of ordination, "let mine adversaries know, that the *ordination* is the Bishops', but the *sole* (in their sense), is their own. Neither did our Bishops ever challenge it as theirs *alone*, without the Presbyters, but as *principally* theirs with them; so as if the *power* be in the Bishop, the *assistance* is from *them*, the *practice* in *both*. So it is in the Bishops, that ordinarily and regularly it may not be done without them, and yet, ordinately, it may not be done without *them* by the Bishop; which hath been so carefully and constantly ever observed, that I challenge them (the Smectymnuans) to shew any one instance in the Church of England to the contrary: say, brethren, I beseech you, after all this noise, what Bishop ever took upon him to ordain a Presbyter *alone*, without the concurrent imposition of many hands?"[4]

LXVI.—And as for jurisdiction, he is every whit as plain. Take his words, "you will needs beat the air very furiously, and fight pitifully with yourselves. Alas! brethren, why will you take so much pains to go wilfully out of the way, and to mislead the reader with you? Who ever challenged (in that sense you feign to yourselves), a *sole jurisdiction*? Why will you, with some shew of learning, confute that which you yield us to confess? We confess this *sole* cried down by store of antiquity. We do willingly grant that Presbyters have, and ought to have, and exercise a jurisdiction within their own charge, in *foro conscientiæ*. We grant that in all the great affairs of the Church, the Presbyters,

[1] *Supra*, sect. 24. [2] *Supra*, sect. 18. [3] Sect. 5. [4] Sect. 8.

whether in synods, or otherwise, ought to be consulted with. We grant that of old, the Bishops had their Ecclesiastical council of Presbyters, with whose advice they were wont to manage the greatest matters. And we still have so, for to that purpose serve the deans and chapters. And the laws of our Church frequently make that use of them. We grant that Presbyters have their *voice* in provincial synods; but we justly say, that the *superiority* of jurisdiction is so in the Bishop, as that Presbyters neither did, nor may exercise without him, and that the exercise of external jurisdiction is derived from, by, under him, to those which execute within his diocese."[1] And a little after, "for my part I persuade myself, that the more frequent communicating of all important business of the Church, whether censures or determinations, with those grave assistants, which, in the eye of the law, are designed to this purpose, were a thing not only unprejudicial to the honour of our function, but very behoveful to the happy administration of the Church."

LXVII.—Would you have more of him? Then turn to sect. 14, where he turns pretty pleasant with Smectymnuus, for insisting so constantly and confidently on this matter of the *sole power*. "You still talk of *sole ordination* and *sole jurisdiction*. You may, if you please, keep that *pair of soles* for your next shoes. We contend not for such an height of propriety, neither do we practise it. They are so ours, that they should not be without us." And in his answer to the Epistle prefixed to the Vindication of Smectymnuus, he says, "That Bishops neither may nor do challenge to themselves such a *sole* interest in ordination or jurisdiction, as utterly to *exclude* Presbyters from some participation in this charge and act; and *sole ordination* and *sole jurisdiction* we so disclaim, as that we hold the power of both, *primarily*, in the Bishop, the *concurrent assistance* in the Presbyters: What opposition can there be in an orderly subordination?" And it is considerable that he says, (*ibid.*) viz. "that in all this he had not departed one inch from the received judgment of English orthodox divines." So that we have not only his own sentiment, but if we may trust him (and I see no reason why we should not) the universal sense of all the true

[1] Sect. 9.

sons of the Church of England in his time, viz., that they were no pleaders for the Bishops' *sole power* of either ordination or jurisdiction. Whoso pleases, may see more to this purpose in this eloquent Bishop's book, called "The Peace-Maker;" in which he is so pat for allowing to Presbyters a share in the government, that Mr Baxter has transcribed plentifully from it to that effect, in his disputations about Church Government.[1]

LXVIII.—14. Mr Baillie, as G[ilbert] R[ule] tells us, was the author of "The Unlawfulness and Danger of Limited Episcopacy," and of the "Defence of it," published anno 1641. And if we may believe Mr Baillie, the author, whoever he was, against whom he wrote his "Defence," was no *sole power* man; for Baylie thus accosts him,[2] "How marvellously do you shift and extenuate the question? The author's (*i. e.* Baillie's) principle did speak expressly and solely of a distinct office in the Church of God: You dare not say whether Episcopacy be any such thing or not: All the distinction between a Bishop and a Presbyter that you speak of, is a higher and a lower degree, as it were, of the same office: Your brethren will give you small thanks for this extenuation." It seems it is no new thing, no ways peculiar to T[homas] F[orrester] or G[ilbert] R[ule] to be angry when Prelatists state the question otherwise than they would have it done. No, it is apparent they have herein only followed the footsteps of their fathers. But that which is more proper to be observed here is, how G[ilbert] R[ule], notwithstanding his acquaintance with this book of Baillie's, in which one advocate for Prelacy is chastised for disclaiming *sole power*, has had the confidence to say, "I would not find many, if any one," &c. But now that I think on it, there may be this apology made for him (such as it is), that it is unreasonable to require of him that he should remember better what Mr Baillie, than what himself has written. I proceed.

LXIX.—15. I have seen a book entitled "*Velitationes Polemicæ*," printed at London, anno 1652, in which twelve questions are ventilated; the second whereof is, "Of Prelacy in Church Government." In the management of which controversy the author not only defines Prelatic authority to be

[1] P. 340, &c. [2] P. 12.

authority in *chief*, above the rest of the Presbytery,"[1] but all along he disputes only for *chief*, never for *sole power*, *e. g.*, his first argument is this, "That power in the Church which Timothy and Titus did exercise by the Apostles' special appointment, is certainly of Apostolic institution: but Prelatic power, or power of ordination and jurisdiction in *chief*, Timothy and Titus did exercise:" *Ergo*[2]—His second argument runs thus, "Such power as the immediate successors of the Apostles, men learned and godly, did generally both assert and practise, is doubtless of Apostolic institution; but Prelatic power, or a power of *one above* the rest, the immediate successors of the Apostles——did generally practise:" *Ergo*[3]— His fourth argument is,[4] "that Prelatic government or the government of *one in chief*, makes most for the preventing or composing of Church differences;" and his fifth, that "the government of the Church by Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, cometh nearest to the prototype, or first pattern of God's own framing."[5] In short, he says expressly, that what he has argued is in "Defence of Prelatic government, or Church government, by *one* in *chief*, and that it is not to be understood as spoken of a monarchical exercise of government (*i. e.*, not of *sole power*, for it is plain he takes the word monarchical in the exclusive sense), but that all he aimed at was, the defence of the precisely and truly primitive authority, maintained thus, and to this height, in every particular, long since by that worthy instrument of the Church's reformation, Martin Bucer, de Regno Christi," lib. 2. chap. 12." And I think that no man who is acquainted with Bucer will say, that he was for lodging the *sole power* in the Bishop's person.[6]

LXX.—16. Mr Thorndike, as learned a man as many, and as resolute an asserter of the Divine right of Episcopacy as any, is so far from being an advocate for the Bishop's *sole power*, that, on the contrary, he has on all occasions most zealously declared against it; particularly, whoso pleases, may turn to his Primitive government of Churches, and he will find the whole design of his seventh Chapter is, to assert the governing power of Presbyters, and reject the solitude of power in Bishops. And in his "Epilogue to the

[1] Sect. 1. [2] Sect. 2. [3] Sect. 17.
[4] Sect. 36. [5] Sect. 40. [6] Sect. 43.

Tragedy of the Church of England,"[1] he tells us, that "By the appointment of the Apostles, the bodies of Christians contained in each city, and the territories thereof, is to constitute a several Church, to be *governed* by *one chief ruler*, called a Bishop, with *Presbyters* or Priests, *subordinate* to him for his *advice* and *assistance*, and Deacons to minister and execute their appointment."[2] And again, "I allow the name of Bishops (says he), in the Apostolic writings, to comprehend Priests also, because of the matter of their function common to both, though with a *chief* power in the Bishop, in Priests so *limited*, as to do nothing without his consent and allowance." Whoso desires more, may find as much as may make up a volume to this purpose in his writings, particularly in his "Right of the Church in a Christian State;" in his "Just Weights and Measures;" and in his "Discourse of the Forbearance or the Penalties which a due Reformation requires;" where[3] he challenges no more power as due to the Bishop than a *negative voice*, the prerogative that *nothing be done without him*. To conclude, Mr Baxter himself, in his "Disputations on Church Government,"[4] acknowledges thst Thorndike was for a regulated Episcopacy.

LXXI.—17. The accurate (I do not say the in everything sound) author[5] of the "Brief Account of Ancient Church Government," printed at London anno 1662, in his fourth part, has a whole Chapter (the second) of concessions made to the Presbyterians for removing by-quarrels, and, among the rest, these[6]—"that all that enter into the sacred order of priesthood have some charge of Christ's flock, and some government of the Church committed to them, as well as Bishops, though in subordination to them, and dependence on their license for the exercise of this power (received in ordination) upon such and such subjects, (yet not such a dependence this neither but that many of those acts become valid when done, though done without a license); so the Presbyters do teach, exhort, rebuke, catechise, examine men's consciences, take confessions, do bind and impose

[1] Lib. 3. cap. 16, p. 145. Edit. Londin. 1659. [2] P. 151.
[3] P. 126. Edit. Londin. 1670. [4] P. 197.
[5] Abraham Woodhead, a learned writer of the Roman Catholic Church.
[6] P. 160, sect, 101, n. 1.

penances and satisfactions, suspend from absolution and the sacraments, absolve and reconcile penitents, and thus exercise a supreme jurisdiction of binding and loosing, accountable to none but God in *foro interno*, or *conscientiæ*, though not in *foro externo* or *contentioso*, which belongs to the Bishop." Then he cites and approves what we have already transcribed from Bishop Hall;[1] and he insists on some ancient authorities to the same purpose. But he goes on[2]—" let it be conceded likewise that Presbyters were joined also with the Bishop in several acts of this Ecclesiastical government as his assistants, assessors, council, and *fellow voters* in Diocesan Synods, so that these acts were not ordinarily transacted by the Bishop without the knowledge and *consent* of his College of Presbyters—this is acknowledged to have been anciently observed." Then having cited Ignatius, Cyprian, Cornelius, to this purpose, he transcribes from Bishop Hall concerning ordination what you have above,[3] and from Dr Hammond these words concerning the Second Canon of 4, Conc. Carth.—" This Canon is a testimony of the fitness and usefulness of that custom still retained and used in our Church in all ordinations of Presbyters and Deacons, that the Presbyters present should lay on their hands by the hand of the Bishop, and so join in the prayer of benediction." This, this author grants, upon condition you will grant to him the following reasonable provisions, which are, 1. " That such arguments, touching Bishops not governing without their Presbytery in former times, have no more force now, for equalling Bishops with Presbyters, than they had then. 2. That this right be still preserved to the Prelates, that nothing be done by the Presbyters without the Bishop. And, 3. That there be affirmed no absolute necessity of such concurrence of the Presbytery, especially as to ordination," &c. These I call reasonable provisions, especially the last; and I hope our Presbyterian brethren will not deny but that, according to their own principles, in cases of necessity, one single Presbyter may ordain a Presbyter. These things, and many more, has this author, from which I think it easy to collect, that he was not for lodging the *sole power* incommunicably in the Bishop's person.

[1] *Supra*, sect. 66. [2] P. 163, sect. 102, n. 1. [3] Sect. 65.

LXXII.—18. Dr Isaac Barrow, in an excellent sermon on Heb. 13, 17, discourses thus, "The Church is acies ordinata, a well marshalled army, wherein, under the captain-general of our faith and salvation (the head of the body, &c.) there are divers captains, serving in degree of subordination; Bishops commanding larger regiments, Presbyters ordering less numerous companies; all which, by the bands of common faith, of mutual charity, of holy communion and peace, being combined together, do, in their respective stations, *govern* and guide, are governed and guided; the Bishops, each in his precinct, guiding more immediately the Priests subject to them; the Priests, each guiding the people committed to his charge, &c."[1] And in his admirable treatise of the "Pope's Supremacy," (a treatise in which he has subverted that Bishop's pretensions to be head of the Catholic Church, solidly, copiously, convincingly, unanswerably), he tells us, "that at first, each Church was settled apart, under its own Bishops and *Presbyters*;"[2] and "that every Bishop, as a Prince in his own Church, did act freely, according to his will and discretion," (*i. e.* without all dependence on any superior) "with the advice of his ecclesiastical synod," *i. e.* his college of presbyters. In short, by his principles, Bishops are the successors of the Apostles. And he tells us,[3] "that the Apostles founded societies, ordained pastors, framed rules and orders for the edification and good government of Churches, reserving to themselves only a kind of paramount inspection and jurisdiction over them, which in effect was only a paternal care over them:" from which it follows by plain and easy consequence, that by his principles, Bishops, who are the Apostles' successors, have only a *paramount* inspection and jurisdiction over Presbyters, but not the *sole power* of jurisdiction.

LXXIII.—19. Dr Stillingfleet, in his "Unreasonableness of Separation," has pretty fully managed this controversy concerning the true state of the main controversy. He chastises Mr Baxter for having his recourse to the *sole power*.[4] He tells him, "He runs upon this perpetual mistake, that the English Episcopacy is not a succession to the ordinary part of the Apostolical power in governing Churches,

[1] Vol. 3, serm. 24, p. 271.
[2] P. 162, Edit. fol. Lond. 1683.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 48, 49.
[4] Part 2, sect. xi. p. 265.

but a new sort of Episcopacy, not heard of in the ancient Church, which *swallows up the whole power of Presbytery*, and leaves them only a bare name of Curates," &c. Then he applies himself to demonstrate, with the greatest evidence of reason, that by the English Constitution, the diocesan Bishop has neither the *sole power* of ordination nor of jurisdiction.[1] In short, he did so clearly, so fully, and so convincingly show this, that G[ilbert] R[ule] (this same G[ilbert R[ule] who said " I would not find many, if any one," &c.) in his " Rational Defence of Nonconformity," written against the same book of the same Dr Stillingfleet, was forced to come to this,[2] " That the Presbyterians do not allege that the English Episcopacy taketh away *the whole power* of Presbyters; for that (says he) were to reduce them into the same order with the rest of the people; but we say (so he continues), it usurpeth an undue power over them, that neither Christ nor the Primitive Church ever allowed, in taking out of their hand that power of governing the Church that they have *equal* with the Bishop." So G[ilbert] R[ule], I say, in so many words, fairly quits the plea of the *sole power*, and betakes himself to *parity*, which (as I shall show hereafter) is indeed the true state of the controversy. I shall say no more at present, than that one may be apt to apprehend that G[ilbert] R[ule] might as readily have forgotten his own name, as that Dr Stillingfleet was *one* who did not allow the controversy to be stated on the Bishop's *sole power*.

LXXIV.—20. Dr Sherlock, in his " Defence of Dr Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation," printed anno 1681, states the controversy as it ought to be stated, thus, " Whether Christ and his Apostles instituted a *parity* or *imparity* of officers in the Church? Whether Bishops and Presbyters be equal? Or whether Bishops have a supreme power, office, order, or degree—call it what you please—over Presbyters?"[3] and this he calls the *great question*. And how frequently does he allow a subordinate power to Presbyters? For instance, Mr Baxter having asked if there were no more Churches in the world, in the Apostles' time, but twelve or thirteen (*i. e.* as many as there were Apostles), that had governing pastors?—the Doctor answers,[4] " Yes,

[1] Sect. 12. [2] Part 3, sect. iv. and xi. [3] P. 345. [4] P. 290.

they had all governing pastors, as our Churches have now, besides the Bishops; but the supreme governing power was in their own (the Apostles') hand." In another place,[1] he says, "We may easily observe in ancient writers, who acknowledge the Episcopal pre-eminence, that they used to denote the governors of the Church by some common name; for though the authority of Bishops and Presbyters is very different, yet they *both* have authority in the Church; and therefore when the ancients were not concerned to distinguish the different degrees of *power*, they included them both in one common name, as joint governors of the Church." Whoso is desirous to have more to this purpose may consult pages 261, 271, 327, 361, 422, 424, 584.

LXXV.—21. Dr Parker, sometime Bishop of Oxford, one who (as appears from his writings) seems to have had very just notions about the government and intrinsic power of the Church, in his book entitled "Religion and Loyalty,"[2] gives us this account of the Primitive Church Government:—"That every diocese was a distinct society of itself, and ordinarily governed by a jurisdiction within itself, and that was by the Bishop and College of Presbyters, in which he enjoyed such a supremacy, that no act of the Presbyters could be valid without his consent and authority; and yet his supremacy was so confined, that he could as little act without the concurrence of his Presbyters, as they without his;" and then he subjoins his hearty approbation of such a constitution, saying, that "this Episcopal superiority, acting only in conjunction with the Presbyters, was the most proper method that could have been contrived to prevent confusion on the one hand, and tyranny on the other."

LXXVI.—22. Dr Pearson, the great Bishop of Chester, as he nowhere pleads for the *sole power* of Bishops, so he frequently acknowledges, that in the primitive times Bishops did not claim it, and that the Apostles put them only in possession of a superiority of power, &c., setting them over Presbyters, not entirely to deprive them of all power, but to moderate their power, and make it useful, by keeping it

[1] P. 358.

[2] Part 1, sect. xi. p. 181, 182. See more to this purpose in his account of the Government of the Christian Church for the first 600 years, sect. xi. p. 128, &c.; nay, frequently in that Book.

within due bounds, for preventing of the confusions that might arise from parity.[1] And particularly, he gives an account of the powers which were lodged in the persons of Timothy and Titus; affirming, that there was nothing unreasonable in it—"that the Apostles should have first planted Presbyters, as Governors of the Churches, and afterwards set Bishops over them, with a superiority of power, not destructive of the power of Presbyters, but paramount unto it."[2] You have his words on the margin.

LXXVII.—If these 22 are not enough to absolve me from the crime of singularity in stating the main question, then G[ilbert] R[ule] and his brethren may turn

23. To Archbishop Bancroft's "Survey of the pretended holy discipline," p. 105, Edit. 1593.

24. To Bishop Jewel, as cited by the Provincial Assembly of London, in their often cited "Appendix to Jus Divinum Ministerii, &c.," p. 146, and (if that does not satisfy) his Apology of the English edition, anno 1685, p., 21 may be consulted.

25. Dr Fulk's Annotations on Tit. 1. 5.

26. Dr Willet's Synopsis Papism. Cont. Gen. 5. quest. 3.

27. Saravia, cited even by Blondel himself, for the validity of Presbyterian ordinations. Apol. pro Sent. Hieron, p. 354, 355. And indeed he is not injurious to him.

28. Bishop Alley.

29. Bishop Pilkington.

30. Bishop Bridges; all three cited for the validity of those ordinations by the Provincial Assembly of London, as above, viz. p. 146.

[1] Quippe ex ipsis Sti. Pauli Epistolis id quod a nostris asseritur liquidò constat; nempe in particularibus Ecclesiis singulares aliquos et speciales viros præpositos fuisse omnibus presbyteris inter se æqualibus cum jurisdictione supra illos presbyteros prius ordinatos; illosque singulares et speciales viros ab ipso Apostolo Paulo iis Presbyteriis quos ipse *pari* cum *potestate* instituerat, cum *majore et exorti potestate* superimpositos fuisse. De successione primorum Romæ Episcoporum Dissert. 1, cap. 9, sect. 4, p. 74.

[2] Neque vero fuit hæc mutatio regiminis ab Apostolis primò instituti, quam adeo incredibilem esse vult Salmasius, sed tantum ejusdem regiminis adimpletio qua Ecclesia ab Apostolo primum fundata, et ministris sub Apostolo administrata, addito tamen singulari et speciali viro membris suis jam completa et numeris omnibus absoluta evaderet. *Ibid.* sect. 9.

31. Sir Francis Bacon, largely cited against *sole power*, even by Calderwood, Alt. Dam. p. 310, 311, 312.

32. Mr Mason, cited both by Blondel, p. 288, and the Provincial Assembly of London, as above, p. 127, 132, 146.

33. Daniel Tilenus, in his Paraclesis ad Scotos Disciplinæ Genevensis Zelotas, p. 11, and 34.

34. Mr Mede, in his Discourse on 1 Cor. 4, 1.

35. Theophilus Iscanus, as cited both by Blondel, p. 163; and Lewis du Moulin, in his Apologia pro Epistola ad Renatum veridæum, p. 122.

36. Dr Fearn in his book entitled Episcopacy and Presbytery considered, p. 3, 13, 14, 15, Edit. Lond. 1647.

37. Dr Prideaux in his Fasciculus Controversiarum, printed at Oxford, anno 1649, p. 204, 212, 214, 216.

38. Dr Nowel, cited by Provincial Assembly of London, as above, p. 146.

39. The author of the "Confessions of Protestant Divines, and their proofs, that Episcopacy is, in respect of the office, according to the word of God," &c. Thes. 4, p. 9, Edit. 1662.

40. Dr Durel, in his view of the government and public worship of God in the Reformed Churches, &c. p. 7, and 86. Edit. London, 1662.

41. The author of the English and Scotch Presbytery, printed at London, anno 1660, p. 157, 158.

42. Dr Cave's Dissertation concerning the Government of the Ancient Church, London, 1683, p. 33, 34, 38.

43. Dr Towerson, on the Creed, page 303. Edit. anno 1685.

44. Dr Pierce, his Pacificatorium, Edit. Lond. 1685, cap. 24, § 7, 9, 11.

45. Mr Kettlewell, in his Communion to be kept on, part 3, p. 6.

46. The author of the book entitled the Unity of the Priesthood, § 3.

LXXVIII.—I have likewise seen other four, whom I must consider a little more fully, because they are commonly supposed to have carried the Episcopal power to the greatest heights; so that if it can be made appear that they were no *sole power men*, that they were very far from condemning such a constitution of a Church as by which

Presbyters are allowed an interest in both ordination and jurisdiction; so far from condemning it, that in express terms they approve it, and assert the conveniency as well as the lawfulness of it; if this, I say, can be made appear, I think I may fairly be allowed to forbear to cite any more authors. The first is

LXXIX.—Antonius de Dominis, who, though perhaps he may somewhere affirm that all power was originally in the Bishops, yet elsewhere he most expressly allows of a reciprocal negative voice, that is, that as the Presbyters can do nothing without the Bishop, so neither ought the Bishop to do any thing in matters of weight and consequence without his Presbyters. Nay, he fairly makes this of Divine appointment; you have his words in the margin[1]—words so plain, that even Calderwood himself, in his "Altare Damascenum,"[2] takes notice of them, and transcribes them, and says that "Spalatensis was no enemy to the power of Presbyters." And again, he cites more from him to same purpose.[3] The reader who is curious for further satisfaction may turn to Spalatensis de Rep. Eccl. lib. 5, cap. 3, where he may have enough of it.

LXXX.—Dr Taylor, the second of the four, is as little for making the power of either ordination or jurisdiction incommunicable, as any other Prelatist. For though his scheme does indeed lodge the *sole* power originally in the Bishop, (his hypothesis being that Bishops only, and Deacons are of Divine institution, and that Presbyters were afterwards ordained, and assumed "in partem solicitudinis," into a share of the trouble by the Bishops, when Christians turned numerous), yet he nowhere pleads that this *sole power* should continue to be always exercised by the Bishops:

[1] Ac quemadmodum presbyteri nihil possunt sine Episcopo, circa regimen Ecclesiæ; ita neque vice versa Episcopos *decet* sine suis presbyteris, suas Ecclesias præsertim in gravioribus negotiis gubernare: quamvis enim Episcopus suam jure Divino habeat supra Presbyteros prælationem, illi tamen eodem jure Divino sunt in ministeriis essentialibus, sui Episcopi socii et collegæ. Lib. 2. cap. 9. num. 4.

[2] Alt. Dam. p. 276.

[3] Cum itaque, jure Divino, et ipsi (presbyteri) suam habeant potestatem, errant quicunque presbyteros parochos meros faciunt ministros Episcoporum, qui tamen *propriam ac ordinariam, et non delegatam*, ut constat, habent *potestatem*. Spalat. Lib. 2. cap. 9. num. 9. cit. Alt. Dam. p. 211.

on the contrary, these are his very words in his Episcopacy asserted,[1] "that Bishops are not tied to exercise jurisdiction solely in their own persons." In short,[2] he founds the order of Presbyters in the seventy-two Disciples, and tells us, "that these seventy-two the Apostles did admit in partem solicitudinis, and by new ordination or delegation apostolical did give them power of administering sacraments, of absolving sinners, of governing the Church in conjunction with and subordination to the Apostles, of which they had a capacity by Christ's calling them, at first in sortem ministerii; but the exercise and actuating of this capacity they had from the Apostles; so that, not by Divine ordination, or immediate commission from Christ, but by derivation from the Apostles (and therefore in minority and subordination to them) the Presbyter did exercise acts of order and jurisdiction, in the absence of the Apostles, or Bishops, or in conjunction conciliary, and by way of advice, before the consecration of a Bishop to a particular Church, and all this he doubts not was done by the direction of the Holy Ghost." It were easy to cite much more to this purpose from that book, and his other writings. But that which I have adduced is enough; for it makes it as clear as light, that he pleaded not for the incommunicability of the power of either ordination or jurisdiction; that he asked no more, than that Presbyters should exercise those powers in conjunction with, and subordination to their Bishop.

LXXXI.—Dr Hammond, a very great man, an antiquary very accurate, (much more accurate than Dr Taylor), an advocate for prelacy, beyond the ordinary size, both for industry and comprehension, and one whose writings on this controversy have made him very famous, is another who is commonly reckoned to have raised the Episcopal power to a very high pitch. His hypothesis is indeed so far the same with Taylor's, that he asserts Bishops only and Deacons to be of prime institution, and it was after Christians were numerous that the order of Presbyters was introduced, that they might be sharers of the burden, and assistants to the Bishop. But neither was he for lodging the power of ordination and jurisdiction incommunicably in the Bishop's person. On the contrary, in his "Fourth Dis-

[1] Sect. 21, p. 162. Edit. Lond. 1657. [2] *Ibid.* p. 132.

sertation against Blondel,"[1] he tells us that "the fairest representation of the constitution of the government of Christian Churches we can have, is to be found in the Old Testament, *i. e.* as Moses at first instituted only twelve princes to be over the twelve tribes, with lictors or servants to attend them; so our Saviour at first instituted the twelve Apostles, and as, afterwards, there was a consistory of seventy colleagues adjoined to Moses, and of twenty-three to each of the princes, to be sharers with them of the burden and troubles of the government; so when Christians became numerous, a college of presbyters was erected and adjoined to the Bishop, who were assumed in *partem officii onerisque*, into a share of the office and burden." So that the very reason of the institution of the order of Presbyters was that they might be *governors*, though in subordination to the Bishop; neither has he anywhere retracted, but every where justified this scheme. He justifies it, I say, both in his "Vindication of his Dissertations from the Answers and Exceptions offered against them by the London Ministers," and in his "Answer to Dr Owen's animadversions on them." Indeed,

LXXXII.—In this last named book, though he says[2] he cannot find clear evidence that such officers as we now call Presbyters were ordained in the times of the Apostles, unless it was the Apostle St John, yet he doubts not to call that order of Apostolic institution. "The reason," says he, "why they were not at first instituted, as well as Deacons, being but this, because there was no need of them yet; and the power given by the Apostles to the first Bishops, being a plenary power, so far that they might communicate to others what was committed to them, either in whole or in part; and those Bishops, accordingly, in the force thereof constituting Presbyters *in partem officii*, the authority still by which they were instituted will be Apostolical." Now, if by Dr Hammond's principles, Presbyters, by as good as Apostolical institution, were ordained to be sharers with Bishops of the burden of the government, I think it is pretty clear that he did not, could not condemn a constitution whereby Presbyters are now-a-days admitted to a share of such a burden. But this is not all, for, indeed,

[1] Cap. 9, sect. 5.

[2] Cap. 5, sect. 3, sect. 19.

LXXXIII.—He, in his "Answer to Dr Owen's Animadversions,"[1] describes Presbyters after this manner, "That they may be most distinctly stiled *Presbyteri secundarii*, or *partiarii*, Elders of a second rank, admitted to the exercise of some parts of the Episcopal office, but not to all, and so distinguished from Bishops or Elders of the first rank." Now, I think those who are admitted to some parts of the Episcopal office are not entirely excluded from it.

LXXXIV.—The same Dr H[ammond], proceeding on the same principles, in his "Introduction to his Vindication, &c. against the London Ministers,"[2] says expressly, "that Presbyters, by their institution, are placed in a second rank, as of *dignity* so of *power*, only they have never all that power committed to them that was committed to the Bishops." And in the "Vindication" itself, he calls them[3] "inferior officers, ordained that that part of the Bishop's task (which could not be performed by the Bishops) might be performed by them; as when the whole burden, which was too heavy for Moses, was distributed among other men." And again, giving his judgment of that nicety (as he justly calls it) that is gotten into the schools, that Bishops and Presbyters do not make different orders, but different degrees of the same order, he says, "It is of little importance which way the question is decided, as long as the superiority of Bishops over Presbyters is agreed on to be such as hath some powers reserved to the one which are not common to the other." "Some powers," says he, "not *all powers*, by consequence, not *sole power*;"[4] and in his "Answer to Dr Owen's Animadversions,"[4] he thus describes the form of government he pleads for:—"One Bishop, with his College of Presbyters under him, and one or more Deacons of a third rank, *ruling* and administering, in their several places and offices, the affairs of any one particular Church." And again, that which the Prelatists pretend to, and plead for, is "a subordination of *Officers* and *Governors*."[6] Now, let G[ilbert] R[ule], when he has leisure, tell us how there can be a subordination of Governors, where the sole power of Government is incommunicably lodged in one person? Again, being

[1] Chap. 3, sect. 4, n. 5. [2] Num. 12. [3] Chap. 2, sect. 10, n. 11.
[4] Chap. 3, sect. 4, n. 11. [5] Chap. 6, sect. 1, n. 13.
[6] *Ibid.* num. 20.

about to define what he means by a dependence and subordination of inferior Churches on and to their metropolis, he expresses it thus:[1]—"I mean by inferior Churches the several Churches in the several lesser cities, with the region adjoining, administered and *governed* each of them by the Bishop of each such lesser city, and his *officers under him.*" And particularly,

LXXXV.—That he was very far from impropriating the *power* of ordination to Bishops is evident, from his "Vindication against the London Ministers;"[2] for there he grants, that the second canon of the fourth Council of Carthage is a testimony for the fitness and usefulness of that custom, viz. of the Presbyters being assistants to the Bishops in the ordinations of Presbyters; which custom, he says, is still retained and used in the Church of England in all ordinations of Presbyters. Now, what can be a greater argument of ones being satisfied with a custom, than his allowing it to be both fit and useful? And

LXXXVI.—Agreeably to all this, this great Doctor still states the grand controversy, not upon the solitude of power, as G[ilbert] R[ule] would have it, but (as it ought indeed to be stated) upon *parity* and *imparity*. Take it in his own words, in his Introduction to "Vind. against the London Ministers:[3]—"The state of the controversy, as it generally lies between us, whether the Apostles of Christ, when they planned Churches in each city, left them in the hands of *many*, to be *governed* by the *common council* of those *many*, erecting an *equality* or *parity* of several rulers in every city, to whom all others were subjected, and they to none; or whether they placed (not the *sole*, but) *superior power* and *authority* in some *one*, and subjected all others to him?—— This is the one basis of all," &c. So, I say, the Doctor states the controversy: Neither does that which immediately follows in the least obscure his meaning, viz. when he says, "Whether the Apostles planted *parity* or *imparity* in the Church, *many equal* Governors in one city, or but *one* in each?" For he himself hath put it out of all doubt, that by that phrase, or by *one* in each, he meant not *one* governing *solely*, but one governing in *chief*; for, "What (says he) is a Bishop in the prelatic sense, but a single person

[1] *Ibid.* Ch. 7. sect. 6. num. 7. [2] Chap. 3. sect. 7. n. 40. [3] Num. 4.

governing in *chief*, in a city or wider circuit?"[1] And again, "The only question is, whether the power and authority in each Church be placed in *one over the rest*, or in more than one, ruling together in *common*.[2]"

LXXXVII.—If my reader desires more of Dr Hammond, let him turn to his Treatise of the Power of the Keys.[3] I shall only mention one more of his books—his excellent "Discourse about Confirmation," written in Latin against two very learned Presbyterians, Blondel and Dallæus—a book, which if G[ilbert] R[ule] would read, he might perhaps come to a better understanding of that ancient rite than he seems to have done, when he wrote the 39th section of his Cyprianic Bishop examined. The learned Hammond, I say, in that book, has plainly told us as much as makes it evident to a demonstration, that he was no advocate for the *sole power* of Bishops. He was not for lodging the power of ordination and jurisdiction entirely and incommunicably in their persons. You have his words on the margin.[4]

LXXXVIII.—Mr Dodwell is the last of the four I promised to consider. G[ilbert] R[ule] in his preface to his

[1] *Ibid.* sect. 5 of n. 5, chap. 1.

[2] *Ibid.* sect. 6, n. 5.

[3] Chap. 3, sect. 10, &c.

[4] "—quid si liberè concedamus, Episcopos Apostolorum successores, potestatisque omnis ordinariæ quam ipsi a Christo, Christus a patre, acceperant, ex asse hæredes factos, hanc aliis sicut ipsis visum fuit, vel in integrum vel ex parte communicasse, adeoque augescente, et in infinitum fere crescente fidelium numero, multa tandem Presbyteris secundariis aut partiariis ab Episcopo ubique concredita esse, ad quæ ipsi in personis suis non sufficerant, paucis tantum sibi ipsis ἰδίως reservatis, quibus originalis ὑπεροχῆς dignitas, et exortis potestatis apex incolumis et integer conservaretur? Sic certè rem verè et non per somnum gestam, esse, βαθυτάται ἱστορίαι nos certos faciunt; omnem quippe sub νέου κηρύγματος fideique in cunis vagientis infantia, et baptizandi et conficiendi cœnam, et sponsalia celebrandi, et eleemosynas recipiendi dispensandique, et quidlibet demum Ecclesiasticum procurandi potestatem penes *Episcopos* fuisse affirmant, quæ post modum suis modulis finibusque Presbyteris, imo diaconis et subdiaconis concredita sunt; nec tamen unquam a Spiritu Sancto, Summo Divini juris Conditore, hujusmodi latam legem, aut tale quicquam hierarchicis nostris per somnia visum fuisse, quâ Presbyteris ex sententia Episcopi ea facere non liceret, quæ consulto decreverant Episcopi Presbyteris committenda esse. Multa certè sunt quæ Episcopi communi per totum orbem consensu Presbyteris relinquenda, paucula quæ sibi reservanda decreverant. Fruantur igitur liberè istis quæ concessa sunt, modo quæ non concessa non attingant Presbyteri."——Hæc vir doctissimus, sect. 9, 10, 11.

Cyprianic Bishop examined, calls him one who is very *high* for Episcopal authority; and indeed, such an author he is, as I had rather contradict a hundred than him, but blessed be God there is no need for it. I will not collect all that might make for my purpose in his admirable writings; *e. g.* his notable book "De Jure Laicorum Sacerdotali," cap. 2. His discourse of "One Altar and One Priesthood."[1] His "Seventh Dissertation on St Cyprian," where all he pleads for as peculiarly belonging to a Bishop, is a *negative voice*, which, I have said, is one thing, and *sole power* is another.[2] I will not put G[ilbert] R[ule] to so much thinking as perhaps it would require of him to fathom the depth of reason comprised in these discourses. All therefore of Mr Dodwell's, which I shall recommend to G[ilbert] R[ule]'s perusal, shall be only one little plain book, which I know to belong to the library of the College of Edinburgh, and so at G[ilbert] R[ule]'s service.

LXXXIX.—It is his letters to Mr Baxter; Mr Baxter had had his recourse to the sorry subterfuge of the *sole power*, and this, it seems, pretty frequently too, which gave Mr Dodwell opportunity, more than once, both to express his dislike of *sole power*, and to affirm that it is not practised in England, nor claimed by the Bishops. Take some testimonies as they lie. Letter 1, sect. 5, he says,[3] "that for his own part, he could heartily wish that Bishops did more consult their Presbyteries than they actually (it seems) do in England and Ireland. And, Letter 2, sect. 11,[4] he says, "no Bishop (in England) undertakes the particular cure of a whole diocese, without the *assistance* of his particular respective parochians, when therefore (says he to M[r] B[axter], you ask whether it follows that our Church Monarch can oversee all himself, without any sub-overseers, or rule them without any sub-rulers; sure you cannot mean that this is the practice of our diocesan." Again, sect. 8,[5] "he wishes M[r] B[axter] would consider how untrue it is, that the dispensation of discipline, even as it is practised (in England) is managed by the Bishop *alone*, who has inferior officers for preparing things for his cognizance." And he tells M[r] B[axter] that in his book (I

[1] *Vide* cap. 12, sect. vi.
[2] Dissert. Cyp. vii. sect. xlvi. xlvii. xlviii.
[3] P. 109.
[4] P. 117, 118.
[5] P. 137, 138.

suppose, "his separation of Churches from Episcopal Government," &c.) "he professed himself desirous that the Bishops would more communicate the great affairs of *government* with their Clergy, which, he confesses, he thinks more agreeable to the Primitive form." And again sect. 13,[1] "If a Prince without personal abilities may yet govern a kingdom by his substitutes, much more may a Bishop with the like substitutes, and personal abilities besides. And it is plainly the case in practice among us (says he) for Bishops to govern their dioceses, not *alone*, but by the assistance of their officers, besides the distinct subordinate parochians." He has more to the same purpose, sect. 14.[2] And what can be plainer than what he has sect. 16?[3] M[r] B[axter] had asked, "Whether a Church Monarch can oversee all his subjects himself, without any sub-overseers, or rule them without any sub-rulers?" And M[r] D[odwell] replies thus—"I wonder that you should seem to forget the practice of our ministers, of ruling our parishes, or sub-rulers under the Bishop. It may be, your meaning is, that our parish ministers were not allowed a part in the supreme government of their Churches, as if that were sufficient to deny them the name of proper church rulers. But you might have remembered 1. that my desire was, that the Bishops, as in St Cyprian's time, so now, would more communicate their affairs of any considerable importance with their Presbytery." And 2. "that even according to the rubricks of our Church, the parish minister or curate is allowed the power not only of dissuading, but also of hindering notorious ill-livers and uncharitable persons from the communion; only with provision that they signify such their proceedings to the ordinary within fourteen days at the farthest, which was no more than necessary for keeping them to the notion of *sub*, not *principal rulers*." And 3. "It is plain that there are many *sub-rulers* under princes, who are not of their own privy council; so you cannot therefore conclude the parish ministers not to be *sub-rulers* under the Bishop, even now; because all great affairs are not originally transacted by their counsel." Nay 4. "Yourself confess *legislation* itself to be communicated to the inferior clergy, in the lower house, in convocations, when they

[1] P. 150. [2] P. 154. [3] P. 156, &c.

made Canons, which are Church Laws; and this, which is *one* of the *highest* acts of government being communicated to them, can you yet complain of their exclusion from government?" And, sect. 31,[1] he most clearly allows to Presbyters "the *power* of baptizing, and imposing the hand in reconciling penitents, nay, and in ordination, in dependence on the Bishop." And sect. 66,[2] M[r] B[axter] having alleged that in the primitive times Presbyters were assistants in discipline, and had a true Church Government, which now (in England) they have not, M[r] D[odwell] answers—"If you mean such government as you count *true*, in respect of their parishioners, this, you know, is not denied them; they have a power of executing their ordinary's commands among them, and to discharge their own office, though with dependence on the Bishop, which is as much as is consistent with an ecclesiastic monarchic government.——If such as is true in respect of the government in general, even this they have in the lower houses of convocations: so that all that you can complain of among us, as dissonant from the primitive example, is, that they are not indeed assistant at their Bishop's councils in every particular act of discipline. This, you may remember, I wished reformed.——But if you think no assistance sufficient, but such as make them independent on their Bishop, that I have proved as far from the practice of those earlier ages as of the present." Indeed, all along, he appropriates only the supreme decretory power to the Bishop, and allows the executive power to Presbyters; and he calls them Sub-Governors, Sub-Rulers, Inferior Church Rulers, and allows them subordinate cures; nay, he allows them an inferior decretory power—"an executive power which may withal include something decretory in affairs of inferior concernment, which, though decretory in respect of their inferiors, is yet only executive in relation to the sense and design of their supreme, to which they are even in such cases confined," sect. 17.[3] By this time the reader may competently judge whether it be likely that Mr Dodwell will not very heartily allow of my stating of the main controversy.

XC.—And now that Mr Dodwell is in our view, let me

[1] P. 217. [2] P. 326, &c. [3] P. 159.

tell G[ilbert] R[ule] that I do not think it was advisedly said by him, that he might debate a certain parallel with that extraordinary person.[1] Adversaries of an ordinary size, for any thing we have yet seen, may be good enough for either G[ilbert] R[ule] or T[homas] F[orrester]. The parallel which G[ilbert] R[ule] says he might debate with Mr Dodwell is, "That as Kings are invested by their subjects, so Bishops at first might have been ordained or made by presbyters," without any diminution of their Episcopal sovereignty after their instalment. I am not at present to debate this point with G[ilbert] R[ule], when he has a mind for debating it let him debate it with his own friends—let him debate it with Calderwood in his "Altare Damascenum,"[2] who pleads very zealously, that inferiors may inaugurate their superior, and cites Whitaker for it—let him debate it with the author of "The Unlawfulness and Danger of Limited Episcopacy,"[3]—let him debate it with his brother Principal, T[homas] F[orrester], who has pretty faithfully transcribed Calderwood in his "Rectius Instruendum."[4] And let him only answer me one question—Who was it that commonly consecrated the Jewish High-Priest? Was it not by some inferior priest or priests? And if so, G[ilbert] R[ule], I think, without the help of other spectacles, may see that the supreme power, even by Divine institution, may be lodged in a person to be invested with it by the ministry of inferiors. And so I proceed.

XCI.—These are all the Prelatic advocates I am at present in a condition to cite. I know there are many more; but as I have not seen them, so neither do I think it very needful to cite many more. I have adduced of Scottish and English, seventy good—a number, methinks, sufficient to absolve me from singularity in stating the controversy as I stated it; and withal (unless seventy of one side cannot be called many) sufficient to discover G[ilbert] R[ule]'s inadvertency, in affirming that I would not find many, if any one, of either side, who did not state it on the *sole power*. G[ilbert] R[ule] does indeed say,[5] that he may say, without vanity, he has seen the strongest advocates for Prelacy. I know neither whom he has seen, nor with what

[1] Preface to Cyprianic Bishop Examined. [2] P. 160, 161, 162.
[3] P. 9. [4] P. 165, 166. [5] Sect. 40, p. 54.

application he has considered them; only I must have been very unlucky, if, having seen so many, I have only seen the weakest of them—only those who have been so very weak, that they did not understand the true state of the controversy. But this, I think, needs not give me much trouble, if it can be made appear—

XCII.—II. That the constitution of neither Church ascribes the *sole power* of either ordination or jurisdiction to Bishops: sure I am, neither the constitution nor the current practice of the Church of Scotland ascribes it. G[ilbert] R[ule] himself, as much as he pretends to the contrary, seems to have been convinced of this; for he tells us that prelatic power is higher in one Church than in another, as in England now, and in Scotland of late.[1] Now, I would gladly know how prelatic power can be said to be higher in England than it was in Scotland, if in Scotland the Bishops had the *sole power* of ordination and jurisdiction. But I must make surer work than any that has no other foundation than G[ilbert] R[ule]'s concessions or insinuations. And therefore, I say,

XCIII.—I. The constitution our Church does not, never did, ascribe the *sole power* of either ordination or jurisdiction to our Bishops. It is not so much as pretended by our Presbyterian brethren that the Superintendents set over this Church, anno 1560, or the Bishops established anno 1572, were invested with *sole power*. On the contrary, they are earnest, on all occasions, to have the people believe that Superintendents had little or no more power than other ministers, and that those Bishops promoted anno 1575 had no more power than those Superintendents.[2] I come, therefore, to that which I reckon the only true and genuine constitution of the government of the Church of Scotland, the constitution which was erected by the General Assembly at Glasgow anno 1610. Neither shall I insist on one argument, though a very good one, namely, that the Bishops then promoted did never pretend to more power than the Superintendents were put in possession of anno 1560, and the Bishops, anno 1572. I shall content myself with the

[1] Sect. 9, p. 10.

[2] So Mr Jameson, "Nazianz. Querela." And G[ilbert] R[ule] in his "Good Old Way Defended," and Calderwood in his History, &c.

Constitution itself; and to avoid all needless debates, I shall not take the account of it from Spotswood,[1] but from Calderwood, G[ilbert] R[ule]'s own friend and historian, who tells us, in his "True History of the Church of Scotland," &c. that his account of it was extracted word for word out of the registers of that Assembly.[2] Now,

XCIV.—As to *ordination*, he gives the decree of that Synod thus:—"*Item*, That all presentations be directed hereafter to the Bishop, and upon any presentation given, or otherwise suit made, by any to be admitted to the ministry, the Bishop is to require the ministers of those bounds where he is to serve, to certify by their testificate unto him of the party suiter, his conversation past, and ability and qualification for the function; and upon the return of their testificate, the Bishop is to take further trial, and finding him qualified, and being *assisted* by some such of the ministry of the bounds where he is to serve, as he will assume to himself, he is then to perfect the whole action of ordination." By which Canon it is so plain that the Bishop has neither the *sole power* of examination nor of ordination, that Calderwood himself had nothing to say but that it was ridiculous to allow the Bishop to try the candidate after the brethren of the bounds (*i. e.* the Presbytery) had tried him.[3] And that in the point of ordination "much is derogated from the power of the Presbytery,"[4] not that the power is entirely taken out of their hands, and lodged *solely* in the Bishop. And,

XCV.—As for *jurisdiction*, is it not provided by that Assembly that "Diocesan Synods shall be kept twice a-year?"[5] Are not National Synods (which always by the Constitution consist of Presbyters, having definitive voices as well as Bishops) allowed of and approved? Doth not Calderwood tell us that that Assembly interposed most earnestly with the King that Presbyteries might not be discharged?[6] Is it not evident that Presbyters, by the appointment of that Assembly, were to have (not indeed a sovereign, but) a subordinate exercise of jurisdiction in the great point of excommunication?[7] And have we not this express Canon about a very weighty point of jurisdiction, *Item*, "In deposition of ministers, the Bishop, *associating* to himself the ministry of the bounds where the delinquent

[1] P. 512. [2] P. 631. [3] P. 637. [4] P. 638.
[5] P. 631. [6] P. 632, 633. [7] P. 631.

served, he is then to take trial of his fault, and upon just cause found, to deprive ?"[1] This Canon is so plain against the Bishops' sole power, that Calderwood's observation on it is, that " by the article of deposition it followeth that no Bishop by himself may try to deprive the delinquent minister."[2] Indeed, all he found to reprehend as being granted by the decrees of that Assembly to the Bishop was, that he got a *negative power*, as he calls it,[3] that is, in the language of the ancient Church, that nothing was to be done *without* him, not that all things were to be done by him *alone*.

XCVI.—If the Canons mentioned needed more light, it were easy to bring it to them from many hands ; but I shall content myself with once more citing this same author Calderwood ; and the testimony which I shall adduce shall be from a book which was undoubtedly his, viz. " Epistolæ Philadelphi Vindiciæ," &c. where he tells us that " the power of ordination and jurisdiction by that Assembly was made obnoxious to the Bishop," not committed to him solely ; for, says he, " the members of that Assembly did not deny that Synods and Presbyteries had power of ordination and jurisdiction, though they subjected that power to the Bishops ; for they believed they gave the Bishops only a *negative power*," &c.[4] You have his words in the margin.

XCVII.—This, I say, thus established, and thus confessed by Calderwood to have been established anno 1610, is the True Constitution of the Government of the Church of Scotland : This is the foot on which all Scottish Bishops ever since have stood—this is the Constitution which was ratified by Act of Parliament anno 1612, which was overturned 1638, and which was revived anno 1662. It was in pursuance of the true nature and ends of this Constitution that the

[1] P. 631. [2] P. 638. [3] P. 63.7

[4] In hoc conventu vel potius conciliabulo, Episcopis potestas ordinationis et jurisdictionis obnoxia reddita est. Nulla ordinatio in posterum rata nisi actum Ordinationis consummaverit Episcopus : nullus minister exauctorandus, nullus vel sceleratissimus excommunicandus, non probante aut vetante Episcopo : Omnium presbyteriorum Episcopi præsides essent, si adfuerint ; iis absentibus, quos ipsi vicarios constituent. Synodorum etiam provincialium ipsi præsides. ——Non enim negarunt, qui illuc convenerant, synodos et presbyteria conventus Presbyterorum, hæc omnia potuisse obire munia, quamvis obnoxiam eis reddiderunt potestatem tum ordinationis tum jurisdictionis——Sed *negativam* tantum quandam *potestatem* eis sese tribuisse censuerunt, et conjunctam cum conventu ministrorum——. Vind. Epist. Phil. p. 102.

Canons published by the King's authority anno 1635—the Canons cited and insisted on by G[ilbert] R[ule][1] for proving that the Scottish Bishops have the *sole* power—were contrived and digested; and this Constitution is the true thread which leads us to the genuine sense of them; and indeed,

XCVIII.—When one reads them over, considering them always with regard to the Constitution, that they were founded on it, and framed in pursuance of it, he cannot but admire how G[ilbert] R[ule] should have cited those Canons, to prove the *sole* power of Bishops; for what can be more reasonable, nay obvious, than that we ought still to conclude them agreeable to, and explicable by the Constitution on which they were founded, so long as there is no, not the least, appearance of contradiction or inconsistency between them? so long as there is, nothing but perfect harmony and concord, which I affirm there is between those Canons and that Constitution? And all this will appear clearer yet (if it be capable of greater clearness) when

XCIX.—2. We consider the constant current practice of the government of our Church ever since the year 1610. What need of many words in a matter so evident? In short, then, as to ordination, I do challenge G[ilbert] R[ule] and his whole fraternity to produce one instance of a Presbyter ordained by any Scottish Bishop since the year 1610, without the concurrence of Presbyters. The practice of our government has been every whit as clear in the point of jurisdiction. For have not our kirk-sessions, our presbyteries, and our synods, always been formal and stated judicatories, even under Episcopal government? Did not even these inferior judicatories, kirk-sessions, and presbyteries, perform many acts of jurisdiction, without so much as consulting the Bishop? Was ever any Canon made by any Bishop to be binding within his diocese, without the consent of the major part of his Presbyters? Did ever Scottish Bishop excommunicate any person, or censure any Presbyter, either by suspension or deposition, without the concurrence of Presbyters? Did they ever claim more, either in acts of legislation or censure, than a negative voice? Had not the Presbyters always, both in acts of legislation and censure, a reciprocal negative over their Bishop; that is, could he any more act without *them* than they could with

[1] Cyp. Bp. Exd. sect. 6, p. 6.

out *him*? It had been easy to have represented these things more fully; but even what I have said may suffice to make it seem not a little wonderful that any man, in opposition to so much light, should have had the courage to charge our Scottish Bishops with assuming to themselves the *sole* power of either ordination or jurisdiction.

C.—The case is every whit as clear concerning the Churches of England and Ireland; for as to ordination, besides what we may learn from divers of the most learned of the Church of England, such as Hooker, Hall, Hammond, &c.[1] what can be plainer than the very rubric in her form of ordering of Priests, which requires "that the Bishop, with the Priests present, shall lay their hands severally on the head of every one that receiveth orders, viz. the orders of a Priest or Presbyter;" for in the ordering of a deacon, the Bishop alone imposes. And by the 31st Canon, made anno 1603, it is expressly required that ordinations be performed by the Bishop, with the assistance of four Presbyters at fewest. And by Canon 35th, that the Bishop shall diligently try him who is to be ordained in the presence of those ministers who are to assist him in the imposition of hands. And the 20th and 32d Canons of the Church of Ireland, agreed upon in the synod of Dublin anno 1634, are to the same purpose. And agreeably, both Churches pray every day in the Ember-Weeks, "that Almighty God may so guide and govern the minds of the servants, the Bishops and pastors of his flock, that they may lay hands suddenly on no man, but faithfully and wisely make choice of fit persons to serve in the sacred ministry of his Church." And

CI.—As for jurisdiction, how easy were it to shew how many ways Presbyters have an interest in it? But I shall only name two at present. By the Canons of both Churches[2] the Bishop, to the deposition of a minister, must have the assistance of three Presbyters at least. And what nobler act of jurisdiction can there be than that of legislation? Now concerning this I cannot give it better than in the words of Dr Stillingfleet in his Unreasonableness of Separation[3]—a book of G[ilbert] R[ule]'s good acquaintance[4]—

[1] See their Testimonies above, Sect. 52, 65, 85.

[2] See Canon, English 122, Irish 71. [3] Part 3, sect 12, p. 265, 266.

[4] [The Principal had endeavoured to reply to it in a "Rational Defence of Nonconformity."—E.]

"There are no rules of discipline, no articles of doctrine, no form of Divine service, to be allowed or received in this nation, (and the same may be said of Ireland), but, by the constitution of this Church, the Presbyters have their votes in passing them, either in person or by proxy. For all things of that nature are to pass both Houses of Convocation; and the Lower House consists wholly of Presbyters, who represent the whole Presbytery of the nation, either appearing by their own right, as many do, or as being chosen by the rest; from whom by indentures they either do or ought to receive power to transact things in their names. And the custom of this Church hath sometimes been, for the clergy of the dioceses to give limited proxies, in particular cases, to their procurators. Now, I appeal to any man of understanding," says he, "whether the clergy of this Church have their *whole* power swallowed up by the Bishops, when yet the Bishops have no power to oblige them to any rules or canons but by their *own consent*, and they do freely vote in all things of common concernment to the Church, and therefore the Presbyters are not, by the constitution, deprived of their share in one of the greatest rights of government, viz. in making rules for the whole body." And if G[ilbert] R[ule] or any of his brethren, are unwilling to take the word of that most learned person, (though it is plain it must be without reason, if they are unwilling), then they may have their recourse to their own friend, Mr Blondel, who (having cited Theophilus Iscanus, whom he calls a most learned man, affirming that never any English Bishop arrogated to himself alone the power of ordination), goes on to tell, that Iscanus had reason to affirm so; "for," says he, "neither the Confession of the English Church, nor her Apology, nor her Catechism, nor her Liturgy, nor her Form of Ordinations, requires from any man, any manner of way, that he should believe that Bishops have the *sole power* of ordinations, or any other Ecclesiastical functions."[1] And then he proceeds to

[1] Nec immeritò (Iscanus, nempe, "Anglicanorum præsulum neminem sibi *soli* arrogare ordinationem——.") cum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, nec Confessio, nec Apologia, nec Catechesis, nec Liturgia, nec Ordinandi Forma, ullo modo à quoquam exigat ut——penes Episcopos *solos* ordinationum, aliarumque Ecclesiasticarum functionum potestatem esse debere credat. Imò ad Hieronymi mentem appositissimè, &c. Apol. pro Sent. Hieron. p. 161, *vide plura*, p. 288.

shew, that the English constitution falls in most exactly with the opinion of St Jerome, &c. And so I proceed

CII.—III. To show that the true state of the controversy is, whether the Church should be governed by pastors acting in *parity*, having equal power, without the superiority of any one pastor over other pastors. It follows so very plainly and necessarily from the preceding deduction, that this, and this alone, must be the true state of the question, that it may seem superfluous to be at any other pains to prove it. But having undertaken to fix this matter, as that hereafter our Presbyterian brethren and we may understand one another, I shall proceed a little farther. And,

CIII.—1. If it were needful, it were not very difficult to prove very fully, that this is the true state of the question, from the writings on both sides. I have already sufficiently accounted for the Prelatic side. I might do it as plentifully for the Presbyterian. I might adduce the very words of Smectymnuus, from their 5th section, and from their Vindication,[1] where they do thus address to their adversary—"Shortly, resolve us but this one thing, what is it that makes a man out of the ordinary rank of Presbyters, and advanceth him to an *imparity*, and power of jurisdiction." I might likewise adduce the very words of the Provincial Assembly of London, in their "Jus Divinum Ministerii Anglicani"[2]—of some ministers in the city of London, in their "Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici"[3]—of the Divines at Newport, in their "First Paper to his Majesty"—of Mr Peregrin, in his "Letters Patent for Presbytery"[4]—of Salmasius, in his "Walo Messalinus,"[5] and in his "Apparatus ad Libros de primatu Papæ"[6]—and I do not know how many more—but I shall satisfy myself (and, I hope, my reader too) with an account of some five or six of our Scottish Presbyterians; particularly,

CIV.—Mr Baillie, in his "Unlawfulness and Danger of Limited Episcopacy," writes thus,[7]—"Suppose Episcopacy were shaven, and stript naked of all external and heterogeneal pomp and power, and of the internal power of *sole* ordination and jurisdiction; suppose nothing were left to the Bishops but a perpetual presidency in Church Assemblies

[1] P. 175. [2] Chap. 4. [3] P. 140, &c. [4] P. 4.
[5] P. 10. [6] P. 199, 200. [7] P. 8.

and synods ; suppose him to be chosen by the Clergy, and to be subject to their censures, as other ministers ; and suppose all the cautions and limitations that can be devised be put upon him to keep him within his bounds from exorbitancy, yet still he is such a plant as God never planted, rooted not in Scripture, but in the earth, and bringing forth such fruits as can neither be acceptable to God, nor profitable to man."

CV.—The author of the work, entituled "Certain Reasons tending to prove the Unlawfulness and Inexpediency of all Diocesan Episcopacy, even the most moderate," printed anno 1641, lays this down for his fourth position ;[1]—" The least and most moderate Episcopacy (as distinct from, and superior to the office of Presbyters) is both in itself unlawful, and also unto us dangerous, and therefore not to be admitted." Then for explication and illustration of this thesis, he subjoins thus—" Granting that the grand Episcopacy now in being (in England) should be pulled down so low as that the Bishop should have nothing left him, but only (as some have projected) a good benefice, with cure of souls, whereto they should be tied, and which they should diligently feed, as other ordinary pastors. 2. Very small Dioceses. 3. The name Bishop peculiar to themselves. 4. To ordain Ministers in their Dioceses, but not without concurrence of other ministers. 5. And by their advice and assistance, to order lesser matters in the several congregational assemblies. 6. And in assemblies or public meetings of Presbyteries, classes, &c. to be constant moderators during life, upon condition of their good government. 7. To have a negative, or a double, or, at least, a casting voice, when things come to be voted. 8. To have these pre-eminences settled upon them, as by a standing law, and as due by right unto their office—I say, though they were stripped of all the rest, yea, and of many of these too, if you will, yet cannot such an office be lawful in the Church."

CVI.—The author of the " Case of Accommodation," &c. printed anno 1671, having set down these words of Bishop Leighton's Second Letter—" That the Bishop shall not be found desirous to usurp any undue power, but rather ready to abate of that power which is reasonable," &c. replies

[1] P. 10.

thus[1]—" It is answered, the author is mistaken in the very entry, in as much as we do not only question the power, but are directly against the pre-eminence of a fixed præses ; the thing is in itself unwarrantable," &c. Again, " notwithstanding of anything conceded in the Articles, and over and above all that hath been said against an *Episcopus præses*, even in the most moderate acceptation, the Bishop, as offered to be reduced, is repugnant both to Scripture, purer antiquity, and our solemn oaths and engagements, inconsistent with the principles of Presbytery," &c.[2] Once more —" I say," says he, " true Presbyterian government doth not admit, amongst the Lord's ministers, any stated *imparity*, either in power, prerogative, or presidency—one or all of which is the very form of the controverted Episcopacy ; therefore they are (what all men hitherto constantly deemed them to be) utterly inconsistent."[3]

CVII.—Mr Jameson, in his Preface to his " Nazianzeni Querela," says,[4] " That his work is to prove that during the Apostolic Age, and the prime Primitive Church, there was a Bishop of each congregation, an identity of Bishop and preaching Presbyter, and finally a complete *parity* of ordinary pastors." And in his work,[5] " That the peculiar hypothesis of Presbyterians, wherein they oppose Prelacy, is, that no pastor ought to usurp a dominion or superiority over his Brethren. And again,[6] " Moreover," says he, " it is most certain that in Matth. xx. 25, 26, 27, 28, ' The Princes of the Gentiles,' &c ; and Mark x. 42, 43, 44, 45, and Luke xxii. 25, 26, 27, all pastors of flocks are prohibited to exercise dominion, secular and state dignity ; and a *parity* of the Apostles among themselves, and in them a *parity* of all ordinary pastors or ministers of the Gospel among themselves is enjoined."

CVIII.—Much might be adduced from Mr Forrester's books to this purpose, but, for brevity, one clear testimony shall suffice at present, it is in his " Examination of Dr Monro's Pleadings," the words are these[7]—" That by original authority of Christ and his Apostles, all Churches ought to be governed by a *parity* of Presbyters or pastors ; and that no ecclesiastic officer above a Presbyter can pretend to a share in ecclesiastic government."

[1] P. 68. [2] P. 92. [3] P. 125. [4] P. 8, 9. [5] P. 16, 17, fusè. [6] P. 235. [7] P. 5.

CIX.—One author more to make out the half dozen. It is even G[ilbert] R[ule] himself, who more than once has made *parity* and *imparity*, and not *sole power*, the state of the controversy. Thus, in his "Rational Defence of Nonconformity[1]—"We are grieved with prelatical government," says he, "and taking away that *parity* of power that Christ hath given to the ordinary ministers of his Church." Again,[2] "It is neither the presidency, nor the precedency, that we debate about, but the *imparity* of church power and authority." Further yet—"He" (Dr Stillingfleet) "undertaketh to prove that English Episcopacy doth not take away the whole power of Presbyters." Now consider what G[ilbert] R[ule] subjoins—"We do not allege," says he, "that it taketh away the whole power of Presbyters, for that were to reduce them into the same order with the rest of the people; but we say it usurpeth an undue power over them, that neither Christ nor the Primitive Church ever allowed, in taking out of their hands that power of governing the Church, which they have *equal* with the Bishop."[3] And in his "Vindication of the Church of Scotland against the Author of the Ten Questions," he is every whit as plain; for his adversary having wholly excluded the *solitude* of power from the state of the question, attributing only to Bishops a fixed, *regulated*, and *limited* superiority,[4] G[ilbert] R[ule] tells him—"He stateth his question with no great shew of understanding in these controversies,"—and "He overlooketh that which is the *chief*, yea, the *only* question on which the controversy with the prelatists doth turn, viz. 'Whether the government of the Church should be in the hands of a single person or of a community? Whether the rulers of the Church ought to manage that work in *parity*, or *one* should manage it as *supreme*, and the rest in *subordination* to him?'"[5] So G[ilbert] R[ule] himself, I say, has sometimes stated the controversy. And yet after all—

CX.—What though he had nowhere been so honest as to have thus given us the true state of the question? What though in all his books he had still misstated it, as he has done his "Cyprianic Bishop Examined," where it was his interest

[1] Part 3, sect. 1, sect. 2. [2] *Ibid.* sec. 3, sect. 2.
[3] *Ibid.* sect. 4, sect. 11. [4] Quest. 1. [5] Answer to Quest. 1.

to misstate it? What though he had written twice so many books, and suffered twice so many years on the side of a controversy he never understood the state of? What of all this I say? Could either his always misstating, or his misunderstanding it, have been sufficient to have either altered or obscured the true state ef it? Could it, in any reason, have done any more than exposed one of three things, his *ignorance*, or his *inadvertency*, or his *disingenuity?* Certainly it could not; for though he had never written a syllable about it, yet—

CXI.—2. That *parity* and *imparity*, and not *sole power*, must be the true state of it, might be farther made to appear from the consideration of the true force and tendency of all the common arguments insisted on by either party for determining this controversy. What can be more notorious than that the arguments insisted on by the Presbyterians are mainly and principally designed by them to prove that the Church ought to be governed by pastors acting in parity? G[ilbert] R[ule] himself, I am confident, will not say that they are designed merely and precisely to overturn the *sole power* of Bishops. But what needs more? Will G[ilbert] R[ule] and his brethren be satisfied to submit to prelatical government, if Bishops shall renounce all pretensions to a *sole*, and claim no more but a *chief power* in ordination and jurisdiction? Will they cheerfully and readily admit of an *imparity* of power between Bishops and Presbyters? If they will, I dare almost promise in the name of all Scottish Prelatists that they shall meet them with equal readiness and cheerfulness. But if they will not, then is it not plain, that they must look upon their arguments as concluding something more than the bare eversion of the Bishop's *sole power*, as concluding that *parity* of power among Pastors is of Divine institution?

CXII.—As little can the arguments commonly insisted on by the Prelatists be rationally designed for concluding that the Bishop has the *sole power;* for concluding more than that an *imparity*, or a *majority*, or a *superiority* of power is due to them. This likewise might easily be made to appear, by an induction and examination of those arguments. Thus, to try it in some instances—Is it imaginable that any thinking man did ever insist on the argument

taken from the Jewish hierarchy, with a design thereby to conclude that Christian Bishops ought to have the *sole power* of ordination and jurisdiction? Who ever thought that the *sole power* of Government was lodged in the High Priest's person? You may try it likewise in the argument taken from the twelve Apostles and the seventy-two Disciples—from the gradations mentioned 1. Cor. xii. 28, and Eph. iv. 11—from the instances of Timothy and Titus—from the Apocalyptic Angels, &c.—very few authors, I think, have intended to conclude more than an imparity by them. This is certain, no more could be intended, with any colour of reason, by all those who proceed (with great reason) on the hypothesis, that the Apostles did at first ordain Presbyters to be *subordinate* Governors in the Churches which they planted, reserving to themselves the *supreme power*, which afterwards, before their departure, they committed to those *Bishops* whom they consecrated to be their *successors in that supreme* power over those Churches.

CXIII.—The like may be said of the argument taken from the constitution of the Primitive Churches; for, as the Prelatists do reckon it in a very great measure their glory as well as their security, that the constitution of both Churches, the Scottish and the English, is fairly transcribed, for substance at least, from the excellent and irreproveable pattern of the Primitive Churches, the Churches of the first and purest ages, so, as we heard, they do generally acknowledge, that in those ages *Presbyters* were not *excluded* from all interest in the Government.

CXIV.—Neither is it to be imagined that ever the Prelatists did intend to conclude either the necessity or the conveniency of investing Bishops with the *sole power* of Government, by the arguments commonly insisted on to show the intrinsic usefulness of Episcopacy; such as those taken from the excellency of order and the aptitude that is to be found in Episcopacy for the distinct method, and, by consequence, the regular dispatch of business—for the vigour and success of discipline, for the avoiding of confusions, for the securing of peace, for the preservation of unity, for the prevention of schisms, &c. For who sees not that all those ends may be every way as well, if not much better obtained, by allowing to the Bishop a chief power, a superiority of

power, a negative voice, the prerogative that *nothing* is to be *done without him*, than by lodging the *sole power* in him? And

CXV.—All this might be farther illustrated by a distinct consideration of those similitudes and resemblances which are commonly insisted on to help people to a clear, and intelligible, and genuine idea of Episcopal Government, such as that of the Consular power among the Romans, or the Mayor of a city, or the Head of a college, or a temperate Monarchy, or the Order of an army, &c. For who did ever dream that the General of an army had the *sole power* over it, so as to exclude all inferior officers from a subordinate command? or that the Roman Consuls enhanced all power, and left none to the Senate? or the Mayor of a city—suppose the Provost of Edinburgh—had the *sole power* of Government in the city, to the exclusion of the other Magistrates or of the Common Council? Nay, who ever imagined that, in a temperate monarchy, the King has the *sole power* lodged in his person, when it is certain he cannot make so much as one single law without the consent of his Parliament? The like may be said concerning the other resemblances that are commonly insisted on in this matter. And now at length to come to a conclusion of this very long, and perhaps tedious deduction, concerning the state of the main controversy between us and our brethren.

CXVI.—From what has been said, the reader may perceive whether G[ilbert] R[ule] had reason to say that "I would not find many, if any one, of either side, who handleth this controversy without respect to *sole power*." He may perceive whether G[ilbert] R[ule] (as I have hinted before) has ever had a true notion of the controversy, as much as he has written, and pretends to have suffered about it. And he may perceive whether G[ilbert] R[ule] has solidly answered most of the arguments contained in "The Principles of the Cyprianic Age," when he has, to most of them, returned no better answer than that they did not infer the Bishop's sole power of ordination and jurisdiction. And not only so, but he, and all the other advocates of his party, may do well hereafter to consider whether they can betake themselves to the subterfuge of *sole power*, with the least pretensions of ingenuity and fair dealing, or rather, with-

out the manifest scandal of an incurable wilfulness, and a notorious effrontery. I ask liberty to use these hard words, not that I have any inclinations to be fierce, but because some men stand in need of loud cries to make them advertent.

[I do not conceive that many of the instances of the *limited* power of Bishops adduced here could have been approved of by the author. For instance, p. 179, he says "did not even these inferior judicatories—*i. e.* Kirk-Sessions or Presbyteries—perform many acts of jurisdiction without so much as consulting the Bishop?" This melancholy fact, which really existed in Scotland, might have done very well to silence the objections of those who were loud against the *tyranny* of the Scottish Bishops; but no one acquainted with the authority divinely inherent in the Rulers of the Church, could justify the "current practice of the government of the Scottish Church from 1610" to the Revolution, or hold it up as an example worthy of imitation.—E.]

CHAPTER V.

G[ILBERT] R[ULE]'S SECOND MAIN SUBTERFUGE, VIZ.—THAT A BISHOP, IN ST CYPRIAN'S TIME, HAD ONLY MORE DIGNITY, BUT NOT MORE POWER THAN PRESBYTERS—PROPOSED, AND ATTACKED, FIRST, BY PRODUCING A SPECIMEN OF THE TERMS AND PHRASES WHICH DO FREQUENTLY OCCUR IN THE MONUMENTS OF THE CYPRIANIC AGE, AND NECESSARILY IMPORT A MAJORITY OF POWER, AS WELL AS DIGNITY, LODGED IN THE PERSONS OF BISHOPS, AS CONTRA-DISTINCT FROM PRESBYTERS.

SECT. I. ANOTHER of G[ilbert] R[ule]'s main subterfuges is, that a Bishop in St Cyprian's time had *more dignity* than Presbyters, but not *more power*. This he has told us in the conclusion of his Preface is, that which he undertakes to maintain throughout his book. "I affirm," says he, "that though it is manifest that a Bishop was above the Presbyter in dignity and order, yet he did not rule the Church by himself, but the Presbyters had *equal power* with him in managing the Church government." By this distinction he has attempted to avoid the force of many of my arguments. Thus he says, "He cannot find, in Chamier, one word asserting that in the first three centuries, Bishops had the rule of the Church above Presbyters, further than that they were above them in *dignity*, and by a *priority* of *order* not of *jurisdiction*." And "Salmasius, in Walo Messalinus, doth strongly maintain the identity of Bishop and Presbyter in the first three ages, and it is far from acknowledging any further difference between them till Jerome's time, than of *greater dignity*."[2] With what modesty he has so affirmed concerning both authors, hath been already considered.[3]

[1] Cyp. Bp. Exd. sect. 11, p. 13. [2] *Ibid.* sect. 13, p. 15. [3] Chap. III, Sect.

II.—He says "the Bishop's *sublime fastigium sacerdotii* signifies no more than that his *power* was elevated to a *higher dignity*, though not *greater authority* than the Presbyters."[1] He does indeed confess "that there was more solemnity in installing a Bishop in St Cyprian's time than Presbyterians now use in making a Moderator;" but then it is only "because it was consequential to the Bishops being constantly, and for life, in that office, and to that prelation of *dignity* above other Presbyters that he then had."[2] He tells us that it is "clearly insinuated in St Cyprian's forty-first Epistle, that the difference of the Bishop and Presbyters of his time was, that *he* had more *honour* than *they*, but not more *authority*."[3] He affirms that in St Cyprian's Complaint, that his Presbyters had not reserved to him the honour of his priesthood and chair, Ep. 17—"there is nothing inconsistent with the *power* or the *stile* of the Moderator of a Presbytery, or the pastor of a congregation, save that the Moderator then being constant, his part in the management of public affairs was more *obvious*, and therefore more *taken notice of*."[4] And whereas I had said that in St Cyprian's time the members of the Episcopal College were always considered as church governors notoriously distinguished from Presbyters, he answers, that "this distinction lay in the *dignity* that the declensions of that age from apostolic simplicity gave them, not in any *power* that they had which Presbyters had not."[5]

III.—It were easy to give many more instances to this purpose, but I shall adduce only other two, which seem to me to be singularly surprising. One is about Tertullian's testimony, which you have on the margin;[6] for take G[ilbert] R[ule]'s word for it, "and it doth neither signify, nor can import, that Presbyters baptized in subordination to the Bishop, or with his permission. All that can be built on it, is a *prior dignity* to the Bishop in this and other parts of the ministerial work."[7] The other is, that having cited St

[1] Cyp. Bp. Exd. sect. 21, p. 26. [2] *Ibid.* sect. 23, p. 28.
[3] *Ibid.* sect. 46, p. 65. [4] *Ibid.* sect. 52, p. 77. [5] *Ibid.* sect. 60, p. 88.
[6] "Dandi quidem (Baptismum) jus habet summus sacerdos, qui est Episcopus; dehinc Presbyteri et Diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate," &c. De Bap. c. 17.
[7] *Ibid.* sect. 49, p. 73.

Austin's testimony, which you have likewise on the margin,[1] he makes observations on it, and the first is, "that Austin placeth the prelation of the Bishop above a Presbyter in the title of *dignity*, but speaketh not a word of a *superior power*."[2] Now that which makes this so surprising is, that G[ilbert] R[ule] when he wrote his "Good Old Way Defended," seems quite to have forgot that ever he had made such an observation in his "Cyprianic Bishop Examined;" for there he laughs at his adversary for being at pains to maintain that Austin was no Presbyterian. "And pray," says he, "who ever said he was one? That way was past its meridian in the world a little before his time."[3] So that though Austin was no Presbyterian, though Episcopacy was past its meridian a little before his time, yet he allowed no superior power to Bishops. Here, I think, is work for G[ilbert] R[ule]'s reconciling faculty. But what wonder, if after a year or two G[ilbert] R[ule] did forget that ever he had made the aforesaid observation, when it is considered that probably, within an hour before he acknowledged that Episcopacy "was past its meridian in St Austin's time," he had told his adversary that "Jerome's making a distinction between Episcopos and Clericos can be drawn to no more but this, that in his time (which was much the time with Austin's) there was an observable prelation in matter of *dignity*; but it no way proveth a *superiority* of *jurisdiction*, though some were then *aiming* at it.[4]" Very right! Bishops were but *aiming* at a *superiority* of *jurisdiction*, even after Episcopacy had passed the meridian. Thus you see how much this distinction between *power* and *dignity* is one of G[ilbert] R[ule]'s subterfuges—a subterfuge, indeed, which might be exposed in very few words. For,

IV.—1. Though it be notoriously ridiculous in most, and unserviceable in all the instances adduced, yet granting that it had been used seasonably, and applied pertinently; granting that the edge of some of my arguments had been truly blunted by it, yet it would have signified nothing against the main of my book. G[ilbert] R]ule] himself

[1] "Quanquam enim secundum honorum vocabula, quæ jam Ecclesiæ usus obtinuit, Episcopatus Presbyterio major sit; tamen in multis rebus Augustinus Hieronymo minor est." Ep. 19. [Tom. 2, p. 84, C. Ed. Basil. 1569. —E.]

[2] Cyp. Bp. Exd. sect. 38, p. 51. [3] *Ibid.* sect. 6, sect. 13. [4] *Ibid.* sect. 12.

seems to have been sensible of this. What else than the sense of this can be imagined to have moved him so frequently to flee to the former subterfuge of the *sole power?* So frequently, I say, for to it he has recurred at least five or six times, for once that he has had the confidence to seek for shelter in this distinction. Indeed,

V.—2. *Most*, if not all, of the arguments insisted on in the "Principles of the Cyprianic Age," are demonstrations of the unserviceableness of this distinction. Demonstrations, I say, and firm and standing demonstrations, till G[ilbert] R[ule], or some other for him, shall offer more material answers to them than any he has offered in his "Cyprianic Bishop Examined," as I am confident every intelligent and impartial reader will confess, who has compared our books. Nay,

VI.—3. *He* himself, by the concessions of a *majority of power* in Bishops, in the Cyprianic Age, made on divers occasions, has notoriously thrown up all the security that possibly might have been expected from this subterfuge. Has he not expressly granted, that in that age *declensions were made from absolute parity?* and that a Bishop, then, by reason of his fixation in his office, and by custom, had crept into *some more power* than was *due?* I have already[1] given a large account of such concessions—concessions utterly irreconcileable with this subterfuge. And then,

VII.—4. *Though* we had had no such concessions from him, yet we have it fairly conceded by Blondel, Salmasius, Dallæus, &c., in a word, by all learned Presbyterians, that in St Cyprian's time, the *impropriation* of *names* had obtained, and that this impropriation was not made before, but rather after Bishops were possessed of a *majority of power*.[2] In short, G[ilbert R[ule] must either renounce the common principles of Presbyterians, or he must acknowledge, that from the very beginning, the *Primi Presbyteri*, the Moderators of Presbyteries, were higher in dignity than the rest of the Presbyters, even whilst the names were common and promiscuously used, even before there was any impropriation of them. Now, supposing this for once to be true, I would gladly know why the impropriation was

[1] *Supra*, cap. 11, sect. 5, 6, &c. [2] Chap. 3, sect. 20, &c. 32, &c. 60.

made, if, when it was made, no more than higher dignity, no more than priority of order, in the Presbyterian sense, was imported by the name Bishop? were not Moderators in possession of that priority of order, of that majority of dignity, *before* such impropriation was made? If Bishops then, even *after* such impropriation, were no more than Moderators, if they had no more power than other Presbyters, why make such impropriation? why make it for no other reason than to signify such priority of order, such majority of dignity? But what needs more? How many learned Presbyterians have I already adduced who have readily acknowledged, that in St Cyprian's time there was a proper Prelacy even of power as well as dignity lodged in the persons of Bishops? [1] These considerations might, in all reason, be sufficient to justify my forbearing to take any further notice of this subterfuge. But,

VIII.—*Because* G[ilbert] R[ule] may possibly pretend to be master of his own concessions, and retract them when he has a mind for it; because, when he finds himself in straights, he may possibly think it fit to leave his greatest masters, and even the common principles of Presbytery, and shift for himself; because this subterfuge is not peculiar to him, but a common retreat to many of his party; because the utter subversion of it may be of considerable usefulness for shortening our controversies for the future; and because the vast magazine of evidences for Episcopal superiority even of power, contained in the Cyprianic monuments, was very far from being exhausted by the collection I made in my former book; for these reasons (especially the two last) I shall be at some further pains about it, and offer to the reader's consideration, by way of Supplement to the evidences contained in my former Treatise, what follows in this and the two succeeding chapters: All which laid together, I am hopeful may make our Presbyterian brethren ashamed to betake themselves hereafter to such a sorry subterfuge. I cannot promise for any accuracy of method, that is not easily to be observed in supplements. However, that I maynot seem to have proceeded altogether without method, I shall reduce what I am to propose to these three heads:— *First*, I shall give a specimen of terms and phrases frequently

[1] Chap. 3, *per tot.*

occurring in the monuments of the Cyprianic Age, which do necessarily import a *majority of power* as well as *dignity* lodged in the persons of the Bishops of that age, as they were contra-distinguished from Presbyters. *Secondly*, I shall give such a specimen of substantial prerogatives, whereof the Bishops of that age were in possession, as, when duly pondered, may make it evident that those terms and phrases were proper, and importing such majority of power, imported no more than was consequential to these prerogatives. *Thirdly*, I shall give such a representation of the Bishop's sovereign interest in some of the most material and weighty acts of Government, as shall further confirm both the propriety of those terms and the reality of those prerogatives.

IX.—*First*, I shall give a specimen of terms and phrases frequently occurring in the monuments of the Cyprianic Age, which do necessarily import a majority of power as well as dignity, lodged in the persons of the Bishops of that age, as they were contra-distinguished from Presbyters. Indeed such terms and phrases are not only so numerous, are not only so frequently used, but likewise so emphatic, so remarkably significant, that one who has considered those monuments with any tolerable degree of skill and attention, can hardly escape the being surprised, when he finds it made a question whether Bishops, in that age, had more power than Presbyters. For my part I cannot forbear to say, that whoso makes a question of it, seems either never to have considered those monuments, or to have a goodly faculty at making questions. But to our purpose.

X.—1. St Cyprian very frequently uses the word *honour* to signify *power*, and not the bare dignity of Bishops. Thus, Ep. 3, he tells Rogatianus, that his insolent deacon ought to do penance for his insolency, and acknowledge the *honour*, that is evidently the authority, the superior power of his Bishop,[1] as appears from what immediately follows:—"But if he shall continue to imbitter and provoke thee," says he,

[1] Et ideo oportet Diaconum—agere audaciæ suæ pœnitentiam, et *honorem sacerdotis* agnoscere, et *Episcopo præposito* suo, plena humanitate satisfacere—quod si ultra te contumeliis suis exacerbaverit et provocaverit, fungeris circa eum *potestate honoris* tui ut eum vel *deponas* vel *abstineas*. Ep. 3, p. 6.

"thou mayest use the *power* of thine *honour* against him, either by deposing or excommunicating him." Here, I think, *honour* imports *authority*, superior jurisdiction with a witness. And, Ep. 15, he highly resents, that while as the Martyrs and Confessors behaved themselves dutifully towards himself their Bishop, yet some of his Presbyters, neither regarding the fear of God, nor the *honour* of their Bishop, (that is plainly his sovereignty,) had presumed to instigate the Martyrs against him, and to reconcile the Lapsers without his allowance.[1] And, Ep. 16, he again makes the same resentment against the same Presbyters, for the same undutifulness to himself their Bishop, for the same encroachment on his Episcopal *honour*, and that in very smart and cutting language.[2] And he is at it over again, Ep. 17, directed to his people. He complains, I say, of the same Presbyters, that they did not reserve to their Bishop the *honour*, (*i.e.* indisputably, the authority, the sovereign power), of his priesthood and chair.[3] And, Ep. 33, "Our Lord," says he, "founding the honour," (*i.e.* the governing power, not the bare dignity), "of a Bishop, &c."[4] And, Ep. 44, having told Cornelius how the Novatians had come to Carthage, and had pressed very earnestly that the competition between Cornelius and Novatianus might be considered, &c., he subjoins thus, "We told them, that it did not become our gravity to suffer the *honour* (*i.e.* the Episcopal authority) of our *Colleague*, who had been elected, ordained, and approved, or attested, by the unexceptionable testimony

[1] Nunc cum maximo animi dolore cognosco, non tantum illic vobis (Martyribus et Confessoribus) non suggeri divina præcepta, sed adhuc potius impediri, ut ea, quæ à vobis ipsis, et circa Deum cautè, et circa *sacerdotem Dei, honorifice* fiunt, à quibusdam Presbyteris resolvantur, qui nec timorem Dei, nec *Episcopi honorem*, cogitantes, &c. Ep. 15, p. 33.

[2] Hi (Presbyteri) sublato *honore* quem nobis beati Martyres cum Confessoribus servant, contemta Domini lege et observatione, quam iidem Martyres et Confessores tenendam mandant, ante extinctum persecutionis metum, ante *reditum nostrum*,—communicent cum lapsis, &c. Ep. 16, p. 38.

[3] Audio tamen quosdam de Presbyteris nec Evangelii memores, nec quid ad nos Martyres scripserint cogitantes, nec *Episcopo honorem sacerdotii* sui et *Cathedræ* reservantes, jam cum lapsis communicare cœpisse, &c. Ep. 17, p. 39.

[4] Dominus noster——*Episcopi honorem*, et Ecclesiæ suæ rationem disponens, in Evangelio loquitur et dicit Petro, &c. Ep. 33, p. 66.

of many Bishops, to be any more questioned by the calumnies of his envious competitors."[1]

XI.—Many such plain testimonies might be adduced, but I shall satisfy myself with one more, which I cannot well forbear to take notice of. It is in Ep. 41. I had cited it,[2] to prove the Bishop's power in the administration of the ecclesiastical revenues. You have it here fully on the margin,[3] and in it the Episcopal *honour* most brightly denoting *power* or authority. But when I cited it formerly, I omitted these words, ("nec vestra auctoritate et præsentia fractus)," and did not translate these ("et vobis acquiescere maluisse)," for this very good reason, that they neither made for nor against my purpose. For these omissions G[ilbert] R[ule] whips me most unmercifully. He says, "that to have left out these words (et vobis acquiescere maluisse) in my translation, was a great error;" so great, if you'll take his word for it, that if a "school-boy should make such a version of Latin into English, he would be lashed for it." He says, that "it is evident from St Cyprian's words that he did not act solely in this matter, but with the authoritative concurrence of the Presbytery. And St Cyprian blameth Felicissimus for despising the Bishop's honour and the Presbytery's authority; clearly insinuating that the difference of the Bishop and Presbyters of that time was, that he had more honour than they, but not more authority."[4] Now,

XII.—That which I observe on this account of G[ilbert] R[ule's] is, not that he can blunder, or that he can be inadvertent, or that he can write ignorantly, but that he can be *disingenuous*, for it is evident he had read the Epistle; how else could he have supplied what I had omitted? Now,

[1] Gravitati nostræ negavimus convenire, ut *Collegæ* nostri jam delecti et ordinati, et laudabili multorum sententia comprobati, ventilandum ultra *honorem* maledica æmulantium voce pateremur. Ep. 44, pp. 85, 86.

[2] Principles of the Cyprianic Age, p. 59.

[3] Cumque post hæc omnia, nec *loci* mei *honore* motus, nec vestra *auctoritate* et præsentia fractus (Felicissimus) instinctu suo quietem fratrum turbans, proripuerit se cum plurimis, ducem se factionis, et seditionis principem temerario furore contestans, in quo quidem gratulor plurimos fratres ab hac audacia recessisse et vobis acquiescere maluisse, ut cum Ecclesia matre remanerent, et stipendia ejus *Episcopo dispensante* perciperent, &c. Ep. 41, p. 80.

[4] Cypr. Bishop Exam., sect. 46, pp. 64, 65.

it is certain nothing below the rankest disingenuity can prompt one who reads and understands that Epistle, to say that there is the least mention in it of the "authoritative concurrence of a Presbytery;" or that the difference between a Bishop and Presbyters was no more than that "he had more honour than they, but not more authority;" or that St Cyprian acted in conjunction with the Presbytery; or that the Bishops dispensing the portions of the inferior clergy and the poor, was nothing but his "giving out sentence as the Presbytery had determined." All which particulars are boldly asserted by G[ilbert] R[ule.] For nothing can be plainer, clearer, brighter; nothing can be more obvious, more apparent, more indisputable, than, 1. That the Epistle is directed not to any senate or society, not to any bench or fraternity, not to any association or assembly, not to any college, court, council, consistory, combination, or convocation of Presbyters, but to four special delegates, two whereof were Bishops, and the other two Presbyters. The very words of the direction are, "Cyprianus Caldonio et Herculano Collegis, item Rogatiano et Numidico com-presbyteris," *i. e.* "Cyprian to Caldonius and Herculanus, his colleagues," (and it is certain after he was a Bishop he never called any but Bishops his colleagues); as also to Rogatianus and Numidicus, his com-presbyters; most notoriously distinguishing the two former, as being *Bishops*, from the two latter, as being no more than *Presbyters*. Indeed, in the very Epistle itself, those to whom it was directed are most manifestly distinguished from the Carthaginian clergy. He writes to them, whoever they were, to transmit the Epistle to the clergy at Carthage; which, what sense had it made, if the Epistle had been directed to the Presbytery of Carthage?[1] The plain account seems to be, that the Epistle was sent to Caldonius and Herculanus, the two Bishops who were first in the commission, and by them to be transmitted to Carthage.

XIII.—It is every whit as plain, 2. That those four to whom the Epistle was directed, were to act by delegation in those matters treated of in the Epistle.[2] By delegation,

[1] Has literas meas fratribus nostris legite, et Carthaginem ad *clerum* quoque transmittite. Ep. 41, p. 80.

[2] Cumque *ego vos* pro *me vicarios miserim*, ut expungeretis necessitates

I say, from St Cyprian, who was then in his retirement, and had not his Presbyters by him to consult with; from him whose resolutions and determinations the clergy of Carthage knew nothing of, till the Epistle which contained them was transmitted to them. And it is particularly observable to this purpose, that in all the Epistles which our martyr wrote in his retirement, it is not so much as once insinuated that there was so much as one of his Presbyters with him when he wrote it. Sometimes he had a lector or an acolyth with him, some of those inferior orders; never one Presbyter so much as named; never one syllable from which it may be so much as probably collected that a Presbyter was with him. On the contrary, more than once it is fairly insinuated that they all remained at Carthage, or at least that the major part of them were always in the city during the time of his secession. It is no less plain, 3. That St Cyprian's sovereign power in the management of both government and discipline is most brightly contained in this 41st Epistle. He not only distinguishes between the *honour* of his place and the authority of those he had delegated (his being the original, and theirs only a derived authority, an authority by delegation), but also, in this very same Epistle, we have perfect demonstration of his power to promote and ordain clergymen; to dispense the goods of the Church; to depose or excommunicate rebellious and undutiful clergymen, and all that adhered to them; and to do all this not only by himself, but even by delegates, as he should please to choose them. And then, 4. Light itself is not clearer than that these phrases ("nec vestra auctoritate et præsentia fractus)," and ("vobis acquiescere maluisse)," are solely accommodable to the four afore-mentioned delegates, and have no more to do with the Presbytery of Carthage than with the Presbyteries of Edinburgh or Haddington. All these things are so very clear in this 41st Epistle (especially if you take along with it the 42d, in which the delegates return to St Cyprian an account of

fratrum nostrorum sumtibus—simul etiam et ætates eorum et conditiones et merita discerneretis; ut jam nunc *ego, cui cura incumbit,* omnes optime nossem, et dignos quoque et humiles, et mites ad Ecclesiasticæ administrationis *officia promoverem,* &c. Epist. 41, p. 79.

their diligence), that I dare repeat my assertion, and say that G[ilbert] R[ule] having read this Epistle, shall never be able to purge himself of gross disingenuity in putting such groundless and choking glosses on it. And so I leave it.

XIV.—2. Even *dignity* itself is sometimes used by St Cyprian to signify not bare precedency, not simple door, or the first hat, or the highest seat, or the head of the table, &c., but *proper power* or *Prelacy*; *e. g.* when he says to Cornelius that "the *verity* and *dignity* of his Episcopacy is most clear and manifest,"[1] the plain meaning is, that it was found that he had been duly and canonically raised to the Episcopal sovereignty; and in many other places to the same purpose. But what needs more? Salmasius himself, as good a judge of the import of words as of any thing else, tells us that both *dignitas* and *honor* were frequently used by the Latins to signify the Supreme Magistrate, or at least magistracy.[2] And I remember our martyr has somewhere so used the word dignity.[3]

XV.—3. *Consilium* likewise, in the Cyprianic dialect, is often put for *power*; G[ilbert] R[ule] himself affirms it. He has told us that *communicare consilium*, a phrase used by St Cyprian, Ep. 38, "can import no less than authoritative decision."[4] Nothing indeed more certain than that he has blundered in this instance; but it is enough for my present purpose that he grants *consilium* may signify power or authority, something more than simple dignity—for such I take authoritative decision to be. But whatever comes of G[ilbert] R[ule's] concessions or assertions, it is certain that St Cyprian doth so use the word; particularly Ep. 20, he tells the Roman clergy that they might learn by the thirteen Epistles which he sent them, how careful he had

[1] Sic enim nunc *Episcopatus* tui et veritas pariter et *dignitas*, apertissima luce et manifestissima, firmissima comprobatione fundata est, &c. Ep. 48, p. 91.

[2] Sic *dignitas* pro magistratu summo Latinis sæpe accipitur, ut et *honor*. Unde *honore usi* in inscriptionibus qui magistratum gesserunt. Wal. Mes. p. 437.

[3] Eant nunc Magistratus et Consules sive Proconsules, annuæ *dignitatis* insignibus et duodecim facibus glorientur, &c. Ep. 37, p. 83. (Ubi manifestum dignitatem pro potestate poni.)

[4] Sect. 41, p. 56.

been of his flock, even while in his retirement; that his "counsel had not been wanting to his clergy, nor his exhortation to the confessors," &c.[1] Now, that by *consilium* there is understood more than advice no less than proper authority, is clear from those thirteen Epistles, particularly Epist. 16, 17, 19. Again, in that same 20th Epist. he says, "he wrote letters to the Martyrs and Confessors, wherein he endeavoured as much as he could by his counsel to reduce them to the obedience of the Divine precepts."[2] Doubtless he meant Ep. 15th, than which none contains brighter evidences of the Episcopal sovereignty. And Ep. 48, accounting how it happened that the Presbyters of Adrumetum, in the absence of their Bishop Polycarpus, had written to the Roman Presbyters and Deacons, after Cornelius was constituted Bishop of Rome, he says, "they were ignorant of the *counsel* that is necessarily of the resolution, the determination, the decree of the Bishops."[3] And Ep. 55, he tells Antonianus that he had "delayed to determine any thing concerning the lapsers till the persecution should abate, and Bishops might meet together and determine what might be proper, by common and well-pondered *counsel*,"[4] *i. e.* might interpose their authority, and define in a matter of such consequence. Cornelius uses the same term in the same signification of authority, Epist. 49, where, accounting concerning the reconciliation of Urbanus and Sidonius, &c. to the Church, he says "there were five Bishops present with him, that with united *counsel*" (*i. e.* plainly with the firmer authority) that reconciliation might be transacted.[5] And what can be plainer than that famous testi-

[1] — Quid egerim, loquuntur vobis epistolæ tredecim in quibus nec Clero *consilium*, nec confessoribus exhortatio defuit. Ep. 20, p. 43.

[2] Literas feci quibus Martyres et Confessores *consilio* meo quantum possem ad Dominica præcepta revocarem. *Ibid.*

[3] Presbyteri et Diaconi in Adrumetina consistentes, Polycarpo co-episcopo nostro absente, ignorabant quid nobis in commune *placuisset*. At ubi nos in præsentiam venimus, comperto *consilio* nostro, ipsi quoque, quod et cæteri, observare cœperunt. Ep. 48, p. 91.

[4] De eo tamen quod statuendum esset circa causam lapsorum distuli; ut cum quies et tranquillitas data esset, et Episcopis in unum convenire, indulgentia divina permitteret: tunc communicato et librato de omnium collatione *consilio*, *statueremus* quid fieri oporteret. Ep. 55, p. 102.

[5] Adfuerunt etiam Episcopi quinque, qui et hodie præsentes fuerunt, ut firmato *consilio*, quid circa personam eorum observari deberet, consensu omnium statueretur. Ep. 49, p. 92.

mony of the Roman Clergy, Ep. 30? They say they can determine nothing in the case of the lapsers, because, since the death of Fabianus, they have not had a Bishop, who with *authority* and *counsel* could define in such a matter.[1]

XVI.—One testimony to this purpose there is, which I must not neglect; it is in Ep. 18, you have it on the margin.[2] I adduced it in my former book, thereby to show how much the Carthaginian Clergy, Presbyters as well as others, did depend on St Cyprian, even while he was in his retirement; so much as that *regularly* they could do nothing of moment in the exercise of discipline without him. I translated it, though perhaps not so very literally; yet as I thought, and do still think, exactly according to St Cyprian's mind. My translation was this—"I wonder, dear brethren, that you have returned no answers to the many letters I have sent you; especially considering that now in my retirement you ought to inform me of every thing that happens, that so I may advisedly and deliberately give orders concerning the affairs of the Church."[3] Here G[ilbert] R[ule] has struck in with such a keenness, as if for once he had got his foot on my neck. "Let any one compare this translation," says he, "with Cyprian's words—is "*limare consilium*," to give order? it is to polish and amend his advice, and to make it more exact. He then in his retirement wills them to write often and distinctly to him of all occurrences, that he, as making such a figure in their society, might give the more accurate *advice* about what was to be done. This is no Prelatical, but a plain Presbyterian style."[4] Well! What is here to be done? Perhaps G[ilbert] R[ule] and his friends may call it stubbornness in me, but I am resolved not to yield without another struggle for it. And if it can be made appear, 1. that G[ilbert] R[ule]'s render-

[1] Quanquam nobis differendæ hujus rei necessitas major incumbat, quibus, post excessum nobilissimæ memoriæ viri Fabiani, nondum est Episcopus propter rerum et temporum difficultates constitutus, qui omnia ista moderetur, et eorum, qui lapsi sunt, possit cum *auctoritate et consilio* habere rationem. Ep. 30, p. 58, 59.

[2] Miror vos, fratres carissimi, ad multas epistolas meas quas ad vos frequenter misi nunquam mihi rescripsisse, cum fraternitatis nostræ vel utilitas, vel necessitas sic utique *gubernetur*, si à vobis instructi rerum gerendarum *consilium limare* possimus. Ep. 18, p. 40.

[3] Page 61.

[4] Sect. 53, p. 77.

ing of the phrase [*limare consilium*] is not so necessarily the only right one, as that mine must needs be wrong; and, 2. that mine doth indeed give the true sense and purpose of the phrase, as it is here used by St Cyprian, I hope all is safe enough.

XVII.—1. G[ilbert] R[ule]'s rendering you see is, that "*limare consilium*" signifies "to polish and amend his advice, and make it more exact." I have already observed that he has not only granted, but pleaded, that the term *Consilium* may, and sometimes must signify something more than simple advice, than such counsel as those who stand on a level may give to one another, nay, as subjects may give to their superiors. Seeing, therefore, he thus grants that the word *consilium* may signify an *order*, an *act of authority*, the stress of the present controversy must lie on the word *limare;* and the weighty question comes to be, Whether this verb *limare* can signify neither more or less, nor other than "to polish," "to amend," or "to make more exact?" G[ilbert] R[ule] has somewhere made me a school-boy; suffer me, therefore, as a school-boy, to tell him, that the origination of this verb *limare* infers no such necessity. The verb *limo* comes from the noun *lima*, which signifies a file: And, as I take it, there may be filing where there is no design of polishing, or amending, or making more exact. Shall I tell him more? I have, in my time, observed this verb so used by some authors (whom right good scholars have acknowledged to have understood the Latin right well) as it shall make G[ilbert] R[ule] sweat a little before he shall make of it, either "polishing," or "amending," or "making more exact." For instance, let him try his hand on these verses of Lucretius, Lib. 5.

> Præterea, pro parte sua, quodcunque alid auget,
> Roditur: et, quoniam dubio procul esse videtur
> Omniparens eadem rerum commune sepulcrum
> Ergo terra tibi *limatur*, et aucta recrescit.[1]

Or these in that same book,—

> Nec nimio solis major rota, nec minor ardor,
> Esse potest, nostris quam sensibus esse videtur.
> Nam, quibus è spatiis quomque ignes lumina possunt
> Adjicere, et calidum membris adflare vaporem
> Illa ipsa intervalla nihil de corpore *Limant*
> Flammarum, nihil ad speciem est contractior ignis.[2]

[1] [Delph. Class. Reg. Ed. Lib. 5, 258.—E.] [2] [*Ibid.* Lib. 5, 565.—E.]

Or on these of "Horace Epist. Lib. I. Ep. 14."

> Cœna brevis juvat, et prope rivum somnus in herba:
> Nec lusisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum.
> Non istic obliquo oculo mea commoda quisquam
> *Limat;* non odio obscuro morsuque venenat.

Or this sentence of Phædrus[1]—

> "Si mendacium
> Subtiliter *limasset,* a radicibus,
> Non evertisset scelere funesto domum."

XVIII.—Or if G[ilbert] Rule] shall pretend that these gentlemen were poets, and have used poetic liberties, let him turn to the epistles of "Caius Plinius Secundus,"[2] and he will find him using this argument to persuade his friend Tranquillus to publish a certain book; "Perfectum opus absolutumque est; nec jam splendescit *lima*, sed atteritur;" which, as I take it, is just as much as if he had said, "*limare*, to file it any more would not be to polish or amend it, or make it more exact, but to mar it." Once more, Cicero himself, in his little treatise, "De optimo genere oratorum," discourses thus concerning the orator Lysias—"Est enim in multis locis grandior; sed quia et privatas ille plerasque, et eas ipsas aliis, et parvarum rerum causulas scripsit, videtur esse jejunior, quoniam se ipse consulto ad minutarum genera causarum *limaverit*." Did Cicero here mean that Lysias polished, or amended, or made himself more exact? Or rather, is not this his plain meaning, that Lysias did not polish or amend, but *suit*, *ply*, *attemper*, or *accommodate* himself to those causes which he managed? That he used neither more nor less filing than was proper for such pleadings? Now, it was to this sense exactly that I understood St Cyprian. I confess I might have used other words in my rendering of him; I might have rendered him thus; that so I may "suit, or adapt, or adjust, or attemper, or accommodate my orders to the exigencies of affairs." But I was more solicitous to keep to our martyr's meaning than to be nice in the choice of words; and I do still think his meaning was plainly enough represented by the words I used. Indeed, that St Cyprian did not intend by the word *limare* to signify polishing, or amending, or making more exact, but that he used it in the sense of *adjusting* or *accommodating*, is plain both from the use of the like expressions observable in his writ-

[1] [Delph. Class. Reg. Ed. Lib. 3, Fabio 48.—E.]

[2] Lib. 5, Ep. 11.

ings upon the like, and from the use he makes of the same very verb *limare* upon other occasions. You have a specimen of both on the margin.[1] The controversy being about the true import of Latin words and phrases, none but such as have some skill in that language can be competent judges in it; and therefore it is to no purpose to translate the testimonies. I proceed therefore,

XIX.—2. To try whether my rendering of the phrase *limare consilium*, has given St Cyprian's true sense and purpose. I say it has, and that nothing can be plainer from the whole sentence: Let us remember that our martyr was then in his retirement, and that his Presbyters and Deacons, to whom the epistle was directed, were still in the city of Carthage; and let us read it over again, and consider it: "Miror vos, fratres carissimi, ad multas epistolas meas, quas ad vos frequenter misi, nunquam mihi rescripsisse; cum fraternitatis nostræ vel utilitas vel necessitas sic utique *gubernetur*, si a *vobis instructi* rerum gerendarum *consilium limare possimus*." What can be plainer than that here he blames their negligence, or rather their undutifulness, in not writing to him upon this very score, that unless he was informed by them of the true state of affairs, of every thing as it happened, it was not to be thought that he could accurately attemper or adjust his orders, either to the utility or the necessity of the Church? But if this is plain in the

[1] Plane cæterorum causas—differi mandavi, et in nostram præsentiam reservari; ut cum pace a Domino nobis data, plures præpositi convenire in unum cœperimus, communicato etiam vobiscum consilio disponere singula et reformare possimus, Epist. 20, p. 43.

Propter quod et nos temperamentum tenentes, et libram Domini contemplantes—diu multumque tractatu inter nos habito, justa moderatione, *agenda libravimus*, Epist. 54, p. 100.

——Temperamentum salubri moderatione libravimus——Epist. 55. p. 102.

Quando (collegæ) ad me venire cœperint, tractabo cum singulis plenius, ut de eo quod consuluistis figatur apud nos, et rescribatur vobis firma sententia, multorum sacerdotum consilio ponderata. Ep. 56, p. 116.

Vide etiam supra, sect. xiii. not. 2. Nihil enim illo testimonio ad hoc de quo nunc agimus explicandum, vel aptius, vel accommodatius. Sed en *ipsissimum "limandi" verbum ut eo Sanctus noster usus est*——"Ut ea quæ circa Ecclesiæ gubernaculum utilitas communis exposcit, tractare simul et plurimorum consilio examinata *limare* possemus," Epist. 14, p. 31.

——Ut repræsenter vobis—cum collegis meis, &c.—Sicut semel placuit, ea quæ agenda sunt, disponere pariter et *limare* poterimus. Epist. 43, p. 85.

Ad quædam disponenda et consilii communis examinatione *limanda*, necesse habuimus——cogere et celebrare concilium. Epist. 72, p. 196.

words, (and plain it is as what is most plain), I cannot see how it may be easy for G[ilbert] R[ule] to avoid this necessary consequence, that St Cyprian was the supreme governor of the Church of Carthage, of a Church in which there were many Presbyters? But I have not yet done. For

XX.—Though the words we have read had not so plainly told us that it was their part to *inform* him, and his prerogative to *adjust orders*, so as that they might answer the utility or the necessity of the brotherhood, as he was informed by them; yet nothing plainer than this his prerogative from the whole series of the epistle, especially if we likewise take along what follows to the same purpose in the two subsequent epistles, the 19th and the 20th. I shall as briefly but withal, as fairly and ingenuously as I can, represent the matter to the reader. In the 18th epistle, notwithstanding they had neglected to give him those informations which they ought to have given him, notwithstanding the distance he was at from them, yet he gives them positive and formal orders to regulate their administrations in such and such cases. Summer was begun, and, in such a warm climate, that was a season of dangerous diseases, a season in which commonly many persons died. He orders therefore that such of the lapsers as had got recommendations from the martyrs, if they should be taken very ill, should forthwith be reconciled, without expecting his presence, by any Presbyter, and if a Presbyter was not at hand, by any deacon; that such lapsers as should continue in health, should be exhorted to continue in their course of penance till he himself should return; and that his Presbyters and Deacons should perform all suitable offices of charity and vigilancy to such of the Audientes, (*i. e.* those who professed the Christian faith, but were not yet baptized), as should be in danger of death.[1] These things, I say, he *ordered*, he

[1] Quoniam tamen video facultatem veniendi ad vos nondum esse, et jam æstatem cœpisse, quod tempus infirmitatibus assiduis et gravibus infestatur, occurrendum puto fratribus nostris; ut qui libellos à Martyribus acceperunt, et prærogativa eorum apud Deum adjuvari possunt, si incommodo aliquo, et infirmitatis periculo occupati fuerint, *non expectata præsentia nostra*, apud Presbyterum quemcunque præsentem, vel si presbyter repertus non fuerit, et urgere exitus cœperit, apud Diaconum quoque, exomologesin facere delicti sui possint; ut manu iis in pœnitentia imposita, veniant ad Dominum cum pace, quam dari Martyres literis ad nos factis

authoritatively, and by virtue of his power Episcopal, *commanded* to be done, as is evident as light itself from the 19th Epistle; whereby we learn that his Presbyters and Deacons awakened, it seems, by the former Epistle, had written to him, and required from him a *form*, that is, his *will* and *pleasure*, his *order* to be their *rule*, and the measure of their conduct, with regard to such lapsers as were too earnest and urgent to be absolved sooner than was allowed by the common course of discipline; and that his return to them was, that he had given them a *form* already in his last (*i. e.* the 18th) Epistle. And indeed, in this 19th, wherein he answers their address for a *form*, he does no more but repeat upon the matter that self same order he had given in Epistle 18th, and give some reasons for some of the branches of it.[1] And then,

XXI.—If any man shall doubt whether the term *forma* was so understood by him and his Presbyters as to signify his will and pleasure, his *order* or *determination*, let him know that such is, indeed, the common current signification of it in the dialect of the Cyprianic monuments. Thus, in the very first Epistle, we have it thrice over in this sense—The Levites of old observed this *form*,"[2] says our martyr, "that is, this rule, this law, this ordinance, not to involve themselves in secular business." And this *form*, this canon, this rule, is observed with regard to the Christian clergy.[3] And "therefore, seeing Victor, contrary to the *form*, the decree or statute, lately made by a Synod of Bishops, has appointed Geminus Faustinus, a Presbyter, to be tutor to his children," let him be so and so punished.[4] And Epistle 55, "This is a *form* established by God, that every man

desideraverunt. Cæteram quoque partem plebis quæ lapsa est, præsentia vestra fovete, &c.—Audientibus etiam si qui fuerint periculo præventi, et in exitu constituti, vigilantia vestra non desit, &c. Epist. 18, p. 40, 41.

[1] Legi literas vestras—Quoniam tamen significastis quosdam immoderatos esse, et communicationem accipiendam festinanter urgere; et *desiderastis in hac re formam a me vobis dari;* satis plene scripsisse me ad hanc rem proximis literis ad vos factis credo, &c. Epist. 19, p. 41.

[2] Cujus ordinationis et religionis *formam* Levitæ prius in lege tenuerunt—Epist. 1, p. 2.

[3] Quæ nunc ratio et *forma* in Clero tenetur—*Ibid.*

[4] Et ideo Victor cum contra *formam* nuper in concilio à sacerdotibus datam—*Ibid.* p. 3.

should bear the burden of his own sin."[1] And when the confessors, who by the indulgence of former times, and the custom of the Church, had got some interest in the reconciliation of the lapsers, made their decree concerning an extravagant indulgence to be given to the lapsers, this is the very term they choose to express it by.[2] But what needs more?

XXII.—Let us turn to Epist. 20th, and there we have all made as plain as possible. There our Martyr tells the Roman Presbyters and Deacons that he had given his orders in two letters (without doubt the 18th and 19th Epist.) to his clergy, concerning the lapsers; and he expressly calls it a *law* which he had given them. His words are, "Nec in hoc *legem* dedi, aut me auctorem *temere* constitui:" that is, "Neither did I *rashly* make this *law*, or constitute myself an author in this matter." A *law*, he says, he made; all that he denies is, that he made it *rashly*. That this is the martyr's true meaning, is clear as light from the context; for in the very next words he gives the reasons that moved him to make it; on the one hand, due regard was to be had to the martyrs; on the other, the forwardness of the lapsers was prudently to be repressed. Besides, the Roman clergy, in a former Epistle, had given their opinion, that such lapsers as, being dangerously sick, should show good signs of a sincere repentance, and be earnest to be restored to the peace of the Church, might be absolved; and no man franker than himself for observing one common course and method of discipline; therefore he had given such a *law* to his clergy, and no man could say that he had given it *rashly*, seeing he had done it on such ponderous considerations. This, I say, is clearly St Cyprian's sense and purpose, and might easily get a further confirmation (if it needed it) from what is instantly subjoined. "The causes of the rest of the lapsers" (says he), "I did *plainly* or peremptorily *command* to be delayed and reserved *till I myself might be present*." To command plainly or peremptorily,

[1] Nobis autem secundum fidem nostram, et divinæ prædicationis *datam formam* competit ratio veritatis, unumquemque in peccato suo ipsum teneri—Epist. 55, p. 113.

[2] Scias nos universis—dedisse pacem, *et hanc formam* per te, et aliis Episcopis innotescere volumus. Epist. 23, p. 49.

I think, is to give a *law*, with an emphasis. You have the whole period on the margin,[1] read it, canvass it, search it to the bottom, and confess that I have done our martyr no injustice. And now,

XXIII.—To bring this matter to a conclusion, by what hath been said the reader may not only judge whether I gave St Cyprian's true sense, when I rendered the phrase "limare consilium," by "giving orders advisedly and deliberately," but also, whether by this time we have not had sufficient evidence that a Bishop in St Cyprian's time had more *power*, as well as more *dignity*, than Presbyters. Had not he more power than they, when it was their part to inform him of occurrences, and his prerogative to give orders about them? Had not he more power than they, who could thus prescribe *forms*, *orders*, and *laws* to them? Who, while alone, while at such a distance from them, could *command* them, could set them *rules* which all of them were bound to observe, peremptorily obliged to follow?—rules which, however many they were, how easily soever they might meet, and even in the form of a Presbytery, yet they had no power to infirm, no faculty to evacuate, but only freedom to obey? Had he no more power than they who could order them to absolve such and such lapsers, in such and such cases, and by a peremptory mandate oblige them to forbear all such meddling with others, and to reserve their causes to his own cognizance, to *his own presence?* Was this plain Presbyterian style? Was it language

[1] Postmodum vero cum quidam de Lapsis, sive sua sponte, sive aliquo incitatore, audaci flagitatione prorumperent, ut pacem sibi à martyribus et confessoribus promissam extorquere violento impetu niterentur, de hoc etiam bis ad clerum literas feci, et legi iis (nempe Lapsis), *mandavi*, ut ad illorum violentiam interim quoquo genere mitigandam, si qui libello à martyribus accepto de seculo excederent, exomologesi facta, et manu eis in pœnitentiam imposita, cum pace sibi à martyribus promissa ad Dominum remitterentur. Nec in hoc *legem dedi*, aut *me auctorem temere constitui;* sed cum videretur et honor martyribus habendus, et eorum qui omnia turbare cupiebant impetus comprimendus, et præterea vestra scripta legissem, quæ huc ad clerum nostrum per Clementium hypodiaconum nuper feceratis, ut iis, qui post lapsum infirmitate apprehensi essent, et pœnitentes communicationem desiderarent, subveniretur: standum putavi et cum vestra sententia, ne actus noster qui adunatus esse et consentire circa omnia debet, in aliquo discreparet. *Plane* cæterorum causas, quamvis libello à martyribus accepto, differri *mandavi, et in nostram præsentiam* reservari. &c. Epist. 20, p. 43.

proper for a Presbyterian Moderator? I wish G[ilbert] R[ule] may be at pains but to read those three epistles which I have accounted for; they are but short, one quarter of an hour may do it; they are the 13th, 14th, 15th, by Pamelius his numbering. And now I proceed,

XXIV.—4. Episcopal *Providence*, is another term observable in the Cyprianic monuments—a term most clearly importing a majority of power, as well as of dignity. Thus Epistle 1. our martyr tells "that his ancestors, Bishops, religiously considering the dangerous consequences of clergymen's undertaking secular administrations, did wholesomely *provide* and *decree* that no Christian departing this life should nominate any clergyman to be either tutor or curator to minors."[1] And Epistle 7 he shows that it was peculiarly incumbent on him to *provide* for the common peace; and upon that account, "though with great anxiety of mind, to be absent from his clergy lest his presence should provoke the envy and violence of the Heathen, and he might become the occasion of disturbance, who was peculiarly obliged to *provide* for the quiet of all."[2] And Epistle 20 he tells the Roman clergy, "that though in body he was absent from his Church, yet he was not wanting to it, either as to his administrations or his admonitions, but *provided* for the brethren as well as he could, &c."[3] And Epistle 43 he excuses himself, that "he could not be present with his people, because his presence might occasion tumults and disorders, and it was his duty, in especial manner, as being Bishop, to *provide* for the Church's peace and tranquillity."[4] And

[1] Quod Episcopi antecessores nostri religiose considerantes, et salubriter *providentes, censuerunt* nequis frater excedens, ad tutelam vel curam clericum nominaret. Epist. 1, p. 2.

[2] Oportet nos tamen paci communi *consulere*, et interdum, quamvis jam tædio animi nostri, deesse vobis, ne præsentia nostri invidiam et violentiam gentilium provocet; et simus auctores rumpendæ pacis, qui magis quieti omnium *consulere* debemus. Epist. 7, p. 14.

[3] Absens tamen corpore, nec spiritu, nec actu, nec monitis meis defui; quo minus secundum Domini præcepta, fratribus nostris, in quibus possem, mea mediocritate *consulerem*. Epist. 20, p. 42.

[4] Accessit huic tabescenti animo nostro dolor major, quod in tanta sollicitudine ac necessitate excurrere ad *vos ipse* non possum, dum per minas et insidias perfidorum cavemus, ne advenientibus nobis tumultus illic major oriatur; et cum paci et tranquillitati *Episcopus providere* in omnibus debeat, *ipse* materiam seditioni dedisse, et persecutionem denuo exacerbasse videatur. Epist. 43, p. 83.

Epistle 59 he commends "Cornelius's Episcopal *Providence*," in admonishing the people, &c.[1] Nay,

XXV.—5. *Authority* itself is a term not unfrequently used by St Cyprian to express the power of Bishops, *e. g.* Epistle 59, he tells Cornelius, that the Carthaginian schismatics were already judged and condemned by the *authority*, not of the African Consistories or *Presbyteries*, but of the African *Bishops*.[2] And Epistle 72, he tells Stephen, that the *sacerdotal* (*i. e.* the Episcopal) *authority*, as well as the unity of the Church, is very much interested in the controversy about Heretical Baptisms.[2] But of this more hereafter.

XXVI.—6. How often do we read of the Episcopal *potestas*, the proper Latin term for *power*? Thus for instance, Epistle 3, St Cyprian tells Rogatianus, that by the vigour of his episcopacy, and the authority of his chair, he had *power* to have forthwith punished his rebellious deacon, and he might have assured himself that all his colleagues would readily have ratified that act of his discipline.[3] And what can be brighter than that which he says to Cornelius, Epistle 59, where he tells him, that to listen to Felicissimus and his complices was to throw up the vigour of Episcopacy, and the *sublime* and *divine power* of *governing* the Church.[4] This phrase, "The sublime and divine power of governing the Church,"[5] I had taken notice of in my former book as emphatically expressing the Episcopal sovereignty; and G[ilbert] R[ule] even laughs at it in his own fashion. He

[1] Quod, quanquam sciam illic fraternitatem nostram, *vestra* scilicet *providentia* monitam—Epist. 59, p. 140.

[2] Oportet utique eos quibus *præsumus* non circumcursare, nec Episcoporum concordiam cohærentem sua subdola et fallaci temeritate collidere—— nisi si paucis desperatis et perditis minor videtur esse *auctoritas Episcoporum* in Africa constitutorum, qui jam de illis *judicaverunt*—Epist. 59, p. 136.

[3]—Cum tua gravitate et sapientia conferendum fuit, (De Hæreticorum Baptismo, &c.) quod magis pertineat, ad *sacerdotalem auctoritatem*, et ad Ecclesiæ Catholicæ unitatem pariter et dignitatem—Epist. 72, p. 196.

[4] —— Cum pro Episcopatus *vigore* et *cathedræ auctoritate* haberes *potestatem*, qua posses de illo statim vindicari: certus quod *collegæ* tui omnes gratum haberemus quodcunque circa Diaconum tuum contumeliosum *sacerdotali potestate* fecisses—Epist. 3, p. 5.

[5] Quod si ita res est, frater carissime, ut nequissimorum timeatur audacia, et quod mali jure, atque æquitate non possunt, temeritate ac desperatione perficiant; *actum* est de Episcopatus *vigore* et de *Ecclesiæ gubernandæ sublimi et divina potestate*—Epist. 59, p. 126.

says, "it may agree to the meanest member of a Presbytery."[1] Yes, no doubt to the meanest ruling elder; to a reader at the West Kirk, or a cobbler at Curry.[2] But I must not on every occasion return to G[ilbert] R[ule] laughter for laughter. To be serious therefore, when G[ilbert] R[ule] shall be at leisure to read the Epistle, and withal so happy as to understand it, and so honest as to be ingenuous, he will confess that he had done as wisely to have retained his gravity. The plain account, in short, is this—A schismatical party at Carthage, whereof one Felicissimus, a deacon, seems to have been the head, had gone (some of them) to Rome, and made such a representation of the controversy between St Cyprian and them, as made Cornelius, then Bishop of Rome, to stagger a little, and turn suspicious that St Cyprian had made wrong steps, and his adversaries had some advantage of him. St Cyprian no sooner understands this than he writes to Cornelius this 59th Epistle, an Epistle long indeed, but of as great sense as length; in the very beginning whereof he tells him, "that to listen to such tattling as those schismatics had endeavoured to abuse him with, was unworthy of him; that he ought not so to regard either the tales or the threatenings of such malicious wretches; that at that rate there would forthwith be an end of the Episcopal vigour, and of the sublime and divine power of governing the Church," that is, if one Bishop should so readily and rashly listen to the desperate and false accusers of another. This, I say, is clearly St Cyprian's purpose; and nothing can be plainer to any who considers the testimony on the margin, than that the *sublime* and *divine power* of governing the *Church*, is one and the same thing with the *vigour* of *Episcopacy*, which, what it is, we shall see by and by. Divers others testimonies to this purpose may be observed in our progress. But neither is this all. For,

XXVII.—7. Sometimes we have two of those terms conjoined, the one to explicate or fortify the other. Thus Epistle 59 our martyr reasons to this purpose—St Paul paid due respect to the Jewish High Priest even after our

[1] Cyprian. Bishop Exam. sect. 33, p. 43.

[2] [These are parishes within the Presbyterial bounds of Edinburgh. It was, and is still usual for persons of secular callings to fill the office of ruling elder.—E.]

Lord's crucifixion, that is, after those Priests by their sacrilege, impiety, and cruelty, had lost all title to the *sacerdotal honour* and *authority*; how unaccountable must it then be not to pay due submission and regards to Christian Bishops, who have an undoubted claim to such honour and authority?—This, I say, is his reasoning, for substance; and thus he asserts not only the *honour*, bnt the *authority* of the Bishops of his time. And if you read the whole Epistle, you will find that Presbyters, as much as any, were bound to acknowledge it and pay obedience to it.[1]

XXVIII.—8. We have *honour* and *power* conjoined, as both belonging to the Bishop. Thus, our martyr tells Antonianus, Epistle 55, that Novatianus having separated himself from the communion of the Episcopal College, and having broken Christian peace and unity, could neither have the *power* nor the *honour* of a Bishop.[2] And Epistle 73, he tells Jubaianus, that Catholic Bishops are more concerned to consider and maintain the *honour* of their *power*, than to be solicitous about any thing that may be done by those enemies of the Church, the Novatians.[3] Nay

XXIX.—9. We have *power* and *authority* conjoined: Thus, Epist. 3, Our martyr, establishing the Episcopal sovereignty by divers texts of scripture, particularly tells Rogatianus, that Solomon being acted by the Divine Spirit, witnesseth and teacheth what the *sacerdotal* (*i. e.* the Episcopal *authority* and *power* is, &c.[4] And Epist. 43, he affirms that it was a persecution to the Church nothing infe-

[1] Postmodum beatus Apostolus Paulus cum ei dictum esset: Sic insilis in sacerdotem Dei maledicendo? quamvis Domino jam crucifixo, sacrilegi, et impii, et cruenti illi esse cœpissent; nec jam quidquam de *sacerdotali honore* et *auctoritate* retinerent; tamen ipsum quamvis inane nomen et umbram quandam sacerdotis cogitans Paulus: Nesciebam, inquit, quia Pontifex est—Epist. 59, p. 128.

[2] Qui ergo nec unitatem Spiritus, nec conjunctionem pacis observat, et se ab Ecclesiæ vinculo atque à sacerdotum collegio separat, *Episcopi* nec *potestatem* potest habere, nec *honorem*, qui Episcopatus nec unitatem voluit tenere, nec pacem. Epist. 55, p. 112.

[3] Nec nos movet, frater carisime, quod in literis tuis complexus es; Novatianenses rebaptizare eos, quos à nobis sollicitant, quando ad nos omnino non pertineat quid hostes Ecclesiæ faciunt, dummodo teneamus ipsi *potestatis nostræ honorem*, et rationis ac veritatis firmitatem. Epist. 73, p. 198.

[4] Sed et Solomon in Spiritu sancto constitutus testatur et docet, quæ sit *sacerdotalis auctoritas et potestas*——Ep. 3, p. 5.

rior to the Decian, that the five Presbyters who sided with Felicissimus in his schism, should have attempted to evacuate the determinations of so many Bishops in the matter of the reconciliation of the lapsers, as tending unavoidably to the subversion of the *Episcopal authority* and *power*. The testimony is so pregnant and emphatic, that I have given it fully on the margin.[1] And Epist. 59, having by many texts of scripture shown the obligations lying on Christians to obey their Bishops, he recapitulates to this purpose—" Seeing we have so many evidences of the *sacerdotal authority* and *power's* being of Divine appointment, what wretches must those be (Felicissimus and his fraternity) who presume to be enemies to Bishops, and rebels to the Catholic Church ?[2]"

10. The same Episcopal majority of *power* is likewise most evidently colligible from a great many phrases which are obvious in the Cyprianic monuments, when they are duly laid together and considered; such as *Episcopatum suscipere*, to undertake the office of a Bishop;[3] *habere*, to have

[1] Persecutio est hæc alia et alia tentatio, et quinque illi Presbyteri nihil aliud sunt quamquinque primores illi, qui edicto nuper magistratibus fuerant copulati, ut fidem nostram subverterent—Eadem nunc ratio, eadem rursus eversio, per quinque Presbyteros Felicissimo copulatos, ad ruinam salutis inducitur, ut non rogetur Deus, nec qui negavit Christum —deprecetur : post culpam criminis tollatur et pœnitentia ; nec per Episcopos et sacerdotes Domino satisfiat, sed relictis Domini sacerdotibus contra Evangelicam disciplinam nova traditio sacrilegæ institutionis exsurgat ; cumque semel *placuerit* tam *nobis* (seipsum intelligit) quam Confessoribus et Clericis urbicis (tunc sine Episcopo Ecclesiam Romanam administrantibus) item *universis Episcopis*, vel in nostra provincia, vel trans mare constitutis, ut nihil innovetur circa lapsorum causa, nisi *omnes* (Episcopi) in unum convenerimus, et collatis consiliis cum *disciplina* pariter et *misericordia* (summæ duntaxat potestatis comitibus individuis) temperatam sententiam *fixerimus ;* contra hoc *consilium* (*i. e.* statutum vel decretum) nostrum *rebelletur*, et omnis *sacerdotalis auctoritas et potestas* factiosis conspirationibus destruatur, &c. Ep. 43, p. 82, 83.

[2] Cum hæc tanta et talia, et multa alia exempla præcedant, quibus *sacerdotalis auctoritas* et *potestas* de divina dignatione firmatur ; quales putas esse eos, qui *sacerdotum* hostes et contra Ecclesiam Catholicam rebelles, nec præmonentis Domini comminatione, nec futuri judicii ultione terrentur. Epist. 59, p. 128, 129.

[3] " Tum deinde post, *Episcopatum* non *exambitum*, nec *extortum ;* sed de Dei, qui *sacerdotes* facit, voluntate *susceptum*, quanta in ipso *suscepto Episcopatu* suo virtus ?" Sic de Cornelio, noster, Epist. 55, p. 104, Novatianum interim episcopatus exambiti et extorti notans.

it ;[1] *tenere*, to hold it ;[2] *gerere*, to bear the burden of it ;[3] *vindicare*, to challenge it, or lay claim to it ;[4] *exambire*, to be guilty of the crime of *ambitus* in ascending to it ;[5] *usurpare*, to usurp it unlawfully, to thrust ones self into it ;[6] *extorquere*, to possess it by plain force, and lawless violence ;[7] *deponere*, to lay it down ; *deponi*, to be deposed from it, or deprived of it ;[8] *reponi*, to be restored to it.[9] What less can all these phrases import, than that a bishopric in St Cyprian's time was something other, something more, than the office of a Presbyterian Moderator? But what needs more ? Our martyr has given us an excellent key whereby we may enter into their true sense and meaning ; he has given us one phrase which explains them all, viz. that to have or hold a bishopric is to "*have*" or "*hold*" not a Moderator's chair, but "*a Church*," *i. e.* to rule and govern it; and that which makes it the more observable is, that it is in an instance of a Church in which there were many presbyters, many subordinate pastors, many subordinate priests, many subordinate governors. The instance is in Novatianus and the Church of Rome, in which there are no fewer than forty-six presbyters.[10]

XXXI.—When such terms as I have already accounted for in the preceding sections, and such phrases as I have

[1] —*Episcopi* nec *potestatem* potest *habere*, nec *honorem*, qui *Episcopatus* nec unitatem voluit *tenere*, nec pacem. De eodem Novatiano, Epist. 55, p. 112.

[2] *Episcopatum* autem *tenere* non posset (nempe Novatianus), Epist. 55, p. 112. *Episcopatum tenere* non debeat (Martialis) Epist. 67, p. 173.

[3] Basilidem et Martialem——*Episcopatum gerere et sacerdotium* Dei administrare non oportere, Epist. 67, p. 170.

[4] Graviter et dolenter motus sum, fratres carissimi, quod cognoverim Fortunatianum quondam apud vos *Episcopum*, post gravem lapsum ruinæ suæ, pro integro nunc agere velle, et *Episcopatum* sibi *vindicare* cœpisse, Epist. 65, p. 162.

[5] Vide supra.

[6] Frustra tales (quales Basilides et Martialis) *Episcopatum* sibi *usurpare* conantur, Epist. 67, p. 174.

[7] Vide supra, p. 227.

[8] Basilides——*Episcopatum* pro conscientiæ sui vulnere sponte *deponens* ——Epist. 67, p. 173.

[9] Basilides——Romam pergens, Stephanum collegam nostrum longe positum, et gestæ rei ac tacitæ veritatis ignarum fefellit, ut *exambiret reponi* se injustè in *Episcopatum*, de quo fuerat justè *depositus*, Epist. 67, p. 173.

[10] "*Habere* namque aut *tenere Ecclesiam* nullo modo posset (Novatianus) qui ordinatus in ecclesia non est." Epist. 69, p. 181. Hoc vero testimonium Vide infra, sect. 42, fusius.

given a specimen of in the last—when such terms and phrases so clearly and so manifestly importing a majority of power lodged in the persons of Bishops in the Cyprianic age, do so frequently occur in the Cyprianic monuments—when they do so emphatically signify such majority of power, not only above the laity, or the lower degrees of the clergy, but even above Presbyters, even where Presbyters are so frequently the persons obliged to own it, and either commended for paying it, or condemned for not paying it suitable regards—when such things are so very evident and irresistible, I say, may it not seem strange that any man who can justly pretend to have read and considered those monuments, should nevertheless affirm that a Bishop in St Cyprian's time had only more dignity, but no more power than Presbyters? In short, it is impossible for the wit of man to reconcile what hath been said with G[ilbert] R[ule]'s notions about his higher dignity, but not higher power. No where greater nonsense than St Cyprian and his contemporaries have been guilty of, if G[ilbert] R[ule]'s be a true hypothesis. And for my part, I must despair of understanding any one sentence in their writings, if they and he are not very far from being of the same principles, even though no more were to be collected from them than I have already represented. And yet I have not done; I have as yet half a dozen of terms to be accounted for, which seem to me to be more emphatic and forcible than any I have hitherto proposed; particularly,

XXXII.—XI. *Actus* is a term which (though it sometimes signifies conversation or behaviour) is very frequently used by St Cyprian and his contemporaries to signify the administration of the Ecclesiastical government, the exercise of the authority or power Episcopal. Thus, Epist. 20, our martyr tells the Roman clergy, that seeing his conduct in the government of the Church of Carthage had been misrepresented to them, he had thought fit to write to them, and give them an account of his *actus*, *i. e.* his administration of the government, his discipline, and his diligence, &c.[1]

[1] Quoniam comperi, fratres carissimi, minus simpliciter et minus fideliter vobis renunciari, quæ hic à nobis et gesta sunt et geruntur, necessarium duxi has ad vos literas facere, quibus vobis *actus* nostri et *disciplinæ*—ratio redderetur, &c. Epist. 20, init.

And again, in that same Epistle alluding to 1 Corinth. v. 3, that is, using the Apostle's language, as being a successor to the Apostles in the Ecclesiastical sovereignty, he tells them, that " though he was absent in body, (he was then in his retirement), yet he was present with his flock in spirit, in his *administrations* and his *admonitions*."[1] And Ep. 25, he commits to Caldonius, a neighbour Bishop, to give an account to the rest of his brethren of the Episcopal College of an affair, that an agreement in their determinations, and one method of *actus i.e.* administration, might be observed by all in their respective churches.[2] He again uses the same term to signify the same thing, in another letter to the Roman clergy.[3] The Roman clergy do likewise use it in an Epistle to our martyr ;[4] so doth Cornelius.[5] No term, indeed, more ordinary in the dialect of those times. And it were easy to adduce many more testimonies, but I shall add only other two. He tells Antonianus, Ep. 55, that the unity of the Catholic Church may be very well preserved, though every Bishop within his own district be master of his own *actus*, his own administration, and accountable to God alone for the exercise of his government.[6] To the same purpose he writes to Cornelius, Epist. 59,[7] and to Magnus, Epist. 69.[8] You have the testimonies on the

[1] Absens tamen corpore—nec *actu*, nec monitis meis defui. *Ibid.* p. 42.

[2] Ut apud omnes unus *actus*, et una consensio secundum Domini præcepta, teneatur. Epist. 25, p. 50.

[3] Post factas ad vos literas——quibus *actus* noster expositus, et *disciplinæ* et *diligentiæ* quantulacunque ratio declarata est——Epist. 27, init.

[4] Quanquam bene sibi conscius animus, et Evangelicæ disciplinæ vigore subnixus, et verus sibi in decretis cœlestibus testis effectus, soleat solo Deo judici esse contentus, nec alterius aut laudes petere, aut accusationes pertimescere ; tamen geminata sunt laude condigni, qui cum conscientiam sciant Deo soli debere se judici, *actus* tamen suos desiderant etiam ab ipsis fratribus comprobari, Epist. 30, init.

[5] Quod erat consequens, omnis hic *actus* populo fuerat insinuandus—— Epist. 49, p. 93.

[6] Manente concordiæ vinculo et perseverante Catholicæ Ecclesiæ individuo sacramento, *actum* suum disponit et dirigit unusquisque Episcopus, rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus, Epist. 55, p. 110.

[7] Nam cum statutum sit omnibus nobis, et æquum sit pariter ac justum, ut uniuscujusque causa illic audiatur, ubi est crimen admissum, et singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet, rationem sui *actus* Domino redditurus ;—Epist. 59, p. 136.

[8] " Rescripsi, fili carissime, ad literas tuas, quantum parva nostra mediocritas valuit, et ostendi quid nos quantum in nobis est sentiamus, nemini

margin; consider them impartially, and say, if you can, that the Episcopal *actus* was not quite another thing than can agree to either single Presbyter or Presbyterian Moderator.

XXXIII.—XII. *Disciplina*—discipline, is another term frequently used to express the Episcopal sovereignty—I mean, the administration or regimen of Ecclesiastical discipline is frequently ascribed to the Bishop in a peculiar manner. Thus, *e. g.* besides the testimonies just now adduced,[1] our martyr, Epist. 59, tells of himself, that as he had been duly promoted to his Bishopric, and faithfully joined to all his colleagues, and was approved by all his people for full four years for his Episcopal administration, so in the time of peace he had applied himself to *discipline*, and had been proscribed in the days of persecution, &c.[2] And in that same Epistle we have another most observable testimony to this purpose. Cornelius, it seems, had complained that our martyr, in his last letters to him, had not given him a particular and minute account of Fortunatus, who had set up as an anti-Bishop against himself at Carthage. To this our martyr answers, that there was no just ground for such complaint; for Cornelius had sufficiently been made to know before what Fortunatus was, that he was one of the five schismatical Presbyters, that he had been excommunicated by the sentence of very many unblameable and wise Bishops, &c. "Being certain, therefore," says he, "that ye knew these things, and assuredly knowing that they are registered in both thy memory and *thy discipline*, I did not think it necessary" to make any further clatter, &c.;[3] so that though there were forty-six Presbyters at Rome, yet the *discipline* of that Church was Cornelius's, the Bishop's, which must needs import at least that he had, I shall not say a *sole*, but I will boldly say a *chief* interest in it, and the

præscribentes, quo minus statuat quod putat unusquisque præpositus; *actus* sui rationem Domino redditurus"—Epist. 69, fin. Multo sæpius occurrit hæc vox hac significatione; imo vero eâdem, etiam administrationes seculares exprimit noster—Epist. 1, p. 2, init.

[1] Sect. 32.

[2] ——Collegis omnibus fideliter junctus, plebi suæ in *Episcopatu* quadriennio jam probatus, in quiete serviens *disciplinæ*, in tempestate proscriptus—Epist. 59, p. 130.

[3] Cum hæc in notitia tua esse confiderem, et pro certo hærere memoriæ, et *disciplinæ tuæ* scirem: necessarium non putavi—Epist. 59, p. 132.

sovereign power of it was lodged in his person. And, Epist. 55, having accounted to Antonianus for the reasons on which he and his brethren, Bishops of Africa, nay and of Italy too, had proceeded in adjusting their determination concerning the satisfaction and the reconciliation of the lapsers, he tells them, that seeing they had founded their decree on grounds so very justifiable, "he ought not to listen to the misrepresentations of wicked men, &c.; but it is thy duty," says he, "as becomes a sincere brother and a fellow Bishop, who loves unanimity, not easily to receive the suggestions of malignants and apostates"—so he calls schismatics—"but by a due research of our life and *discipline* to judge of the actions of thy modest and serious *colleagues*."[1] It were easy to multiply testimonies to this purpose—but these I have adduced are so pregnant—it is so manifest from them that the Bishops of those times had the sovereign power of discipline, that it is needless to amass any more.

XXXIV.—XIII. *Vigor*, *i. e.* the strength or firmness of *power*, the force and pith of government and discipline, is another term frequently used by St Cyprian, to express the sinews of the Episcopal authority. Take a few of many instances. He tells Rogatianus, Epist. 3, that without consulting any man, he might have inflicted condign punishment on his rebellious deacon; he might have done it by the *vigour* of his *episcopacy*, and the *authority* of his *chair*, and might have been assured that all his colleagues would have ratified that act of his discipline.[2] Is this nothing but bare dignity? Is there such *vigour* lodged in the person, or such authority annexed to the *chair* of a Presbyterian Moderator? And Epist. 4, our martyr (with other four Bishops, and some Presbyters) tells Bishop Pomponius, that he had done advisedly, and with *vigour*, in excommunicating a certain Deacon who had lived scandalously.[3]

[1] Sed te oportet ut bonum fratrem atque unanimem *consacerdotem*, non quid maligni atque apostatæ dicant facile suscipere; sed quid *collegæ* tui modesti et graves viri faciant, de vitæ et *disciplinæ nostræ* exploratione perpendere—Epist. 55, p. 103.

[2] Et tu quidem honorifice circa nos, et pro solita tua humilitate fecisti, ut malles de eo nobis conqueri, cum pro *Episcopatus vigore et Cathedræ auctoritate* haberes *potestatem*, qua posses de illo *statim* vindicari—Epist. 3, p. 5.

[3] —Id circo consulte et cum *vigore* fecisti, frater carissime, *abstinendo* Diaconum—Epist. 4, p. 9.

And Epist. 48, " May our Lord (says our martyr to Cornelius), who vouchsafes to choose and appoint to himself Priests (*i. e.* Bishops) in his Church, defend those who are chosen and appointed by his favour and help; may he inspire the governors of his Church, and furnish them with *vigour* to bridle the contumacy of the wicked, and *lenity* to cherish the repentance of lapsers."[1] Where by the way observe that we have here our martyr's prayer to God, that he would bless Bishops with both spirits, that of *lenity* and that of *severity*, the two most notable, as well as necessary concomitants of sovereign authority. Again, Epist. 59, he commends Cornelius for rejecting and repulsing Felicissimus and his associates, with such a plenitude of *vigour* as was proper for Bishops to exert against the enemies of the Church.[2] And a little after he tells him, that there is an end of the *Episcopal vigour*, and of the sublime and divine power of governing the Church, if either fear or favour shall prevail with him to listen to the surmises of schismatics.[3] And the Roman clergy use the same term,[4] and to the same purpose.[5]

XXXV.—Easy it were to multiply testimonies to this purpose; but I shall mention only one more, but such a one it is as I can heartily recommend to G[ilbert] R[ule]'s most critical consideration. It is in Epist 20; there St Cyprian, accounting to the Roman clergy for his careful administra-

[1]—Dominus, qui *sacerdotes* sibi in Ecclesia sua eligere et constituere dignatur, electos quoque, et constitutos sua voluntate atque opitulatione tueatur, gubernantes inspirans; ac subministrans, et ad improborum contumaciam frænandam, *vigorem;* et ad lapsorum fovendam pœnitentiam, *lenitatem.* Epist. 48, p. 91.

[2] Legi literas tuas, frater carissime, quibus significasti, Felicissimum hostem Christi, non novum, sed jampridem ob crimina sua plurima et gravissima abstentum, et non tantum *mea*, sed plurimorum Coepiscoporum sententia condemnatum, rejectum a te illic esse; et cum venisset stipatus caterva sententia et factione desperatorum, *vigore pleno, quo Episcopos agere oportet,* pulsum de Ecclesia esse—Epist. 59, p. 126.

[3] Vide supra, sect. 26.

[4] Absit enim ab Ecclesia Romana *vigorem* suum tam profana facilitate dimittere, et nervos *severitatis* eversa fidei majestate dissolvere—Epist. 30, page 58.

[5]—Mœroris nostri tam gravem sarcinam, *vigor tuus* (Cyprianum alloquitur clerus Romanus) et secundum evangelicam disciplinam adhibita *severitas* temperat; dum et quorundam improbitatem juste *coercet,* et hortando ad pœnitentiam, viam legitimam salutis ostendit. Epist. 36, p. 69.

tion of the government and discipline of the Church of Carthage, especially in the weighty and uneasy case of the lapsers, tells them particularly, that he had made those of his Presbyters and Deacons who had rashly absolved the lapsers, and restored them to the communion of the Church, to find the dint of his *episcopal vigour*. He had bridled them, given them the check, severely prohibited them to pursue such methods for the future. I have given his own words on the margin.[1] Let G[ilbert] R[ule] try them, teaze them, turn them, search them, shake them, sift them as he will, and let him say, if he can, that they do not contain a majority of power above Presbyters lodged in the person of Bishops. But it is not only the *vigour* of our martyr's *Episcopacy* that is observable in them in the general; no, indeed,

XXXVI.—XIV. Nothing is, nothing can be, more evident than that they contain the Bishop's paramount power, his negative voice, his power of prohibiting, forbidding, and discharging even Presbyters to prosecute such courses any further. This, I say, is most plainly and emphatically expressed by these words, "*Intercedentibus nobis;*" the meaning whereof is (and can be no other than) that he used his *tribunitian power*—he made use of such a power as the *tribuni plebis* among the Romans had, whereby, when they pleased, they could void all the votes, enervate all the consults, evacuate all the resolves, and countermand and cassat all the conclusions of the Senate. Whoso can with reason pretend to any acquaintance (even the most ordinary) with the Roman histories, or customs, or constitutions, will readily grant this to be the genuine signification of the verb "*intercedere*," and that it was the ordinary word, the word in course, whereby the power of those tribunes was expressed. Neither can our martyr's words bear another sense, when the whole sentence is considered. It cannot bear another sense I say than this, that some of his Presbyters and Deacons had rashly, overhastily, precipitantly, reconciled some of the lapsers to the communion of the Church; that

[1] Item Presbyteris et Diaconibus non defuit *sacerdotii vigor*, ut quidam minus disciplinæ memores, et temeraria festinatione præcipites, qui cum lapsis communicare jam cœperant, comprimerentur, *intercedentibus nobis*. Epist. 20, p. 43.

he stepped in, and for the future prohibited all such preposterous reconciliations, and that he was enabled to do so by his Episcopal prerogative, He did it by the *vigour* of his *Sacerdotium Episcopacy*, as is evident not only from the common use of the word in the Cyprianic dialect, but also from the whole train of his discourse in that 20th Epistle.

XXXVII.—Neither is it only here (I mean in Epist. 20) that he used the word in this sense, but when it is observable that in ecclesiastical matters he never allows this power of intercession to any but to God and to Bishops—to God he attributes it indeed, and good reason for it, for in him all power is concentered, to him all power must be referred, because from him all human (as well as angelical) power, all authority, as well sacred as civil, is derived. No doubt, "God is rather to be obeyed than man." None believed this more firmly than St Cyprian—none more bound by principle to believe it than those who pretend to be of the same principles he was of with regard to the government of the Church. But withal, none can without impudence pretend to be of his principles, who are not willing and ready, who do not think themselves bound by principle to submit to civil authority when they cannot comply with the civil constitutions, to give passive (as they call it) when they cannot give active obedience. In a word, St Cyprian was inferior to none in true Christian zeal for the true Christian doctrine of non-resistance. But this by the way, as he allowed this power of intercession to Almighty God,[1] so did he likewise ascribe it to every Bishop in his diocese. He used it himself, as we have already heard. And he recommends it to Bishop Pomponius, Epist. 4, to put it in practice in a certain case, forthwith to prohibit all cohabitation of clergymen with virgins;[2] using this very word, and withal fairly implying

[1] —Præceptis divinis necesse est obsequia nostra deserviant, nec personam in ejusmodi rebus accipere; aut aliquid cuiquam largiri potest humana indulgentia, ubi *intercedit*, et legem tribuit divina præscriptio. Epist. 67, p. 170.

[2] Quando et sexus infirmus, et ætas adhuc lubrica per omnia frænari à *nobis* (Episcopis) et *regi* debeat —— *intercedendum* est cito talibus, dum adhuc separari innocentes possunt, quia dividi postmodum *nostra* (Episcoporum) *intercessione* non poterunt. Epist. 4, p. 8.

that so to *intercede* was an act of authority peculiar to Bishops. And Confessor Faustus à Timida, in his suffrage in the venerable Council of Carthage, whereof St Cyprian was Præses, imports likewise that it was a power peculiar to Bishops, though he blames some of them for misapplying it, when they made use of it to patronize heretical baptisms.[1] But

XXXVIII.—Our holy martyr always, and upon all occasions, condemns it as extravagant impudence, as intolerable presumption, as bare-faced usurpation, as downright rebellion in any clergyman below Bishops, presbyters as well as others, to pretend to such a power, or to exercise it. Thus, he complains most grievously, Epist. 34, that "some presbyters had been so bold as by *intercession* to hinder the lapsers to finish and perfect their course of penance.[2] And Ep. 41, he makes it an unaccountable presumption in Felicissimus, that he had pretended to such a power;[3] nay, not only Felicissimus, but his whole faction, and the major part of the Carthaginian Presbyters, whereof that faction, as we shall learn hereafter, are condemned and declared to deserve excommunication for assuming it, Epist. 43.[4] And not only Epist. 43, but he is also at them again in Epist. 59, written to Cornelius, where he declaims against them with a great

[1] Non sibi blandiantur, qui hæreticis patrocinantur. Qui pro hæreticis ecclesiastico baptismati *intercedit*, illos Christianos, et nos hæreticos facit. Cox. Carth. Suff. 58.

[2] Ingemiscere autem et agere pœnitentiam quomodo possunt; quorum gemitibus et lacrymis *intercedunt* quidam de Presbyteris, ut communicandum cum illis temere existiment? Epist. 34, p. 67, ubi doctissimus Fellus hæc—[*Lacrymis intercedunt*] "Obicem illis ponunt. Impediunt, Quomodo tribuni intercesserunt; hoc est rem, pro magistratus potestate, impediverunt."

[3] Cumque ego vos pro me vicarios miserim.—(*vide supra*, sect. 13.) Ille *intercesserit* ne quis posset expungi—Epist. 41, p. 79, 80.

[4] "*Intercedunt* precibus vestris, quas nobiscum diebus ac noctibus Deo funditis, ut eum justa satisfactione placetis; *intercedunt* lacrymis nostris quibus commissi delicti crimen abluitis; *intercedunt* paci quam vere et fideliter de Domini misericordia postulatis—Nemo vos Christianos ab Evangelio Christi rapiat. Nemo filios Ecclesiæ de Ecclesia tollat. Pereant sibi soli, qui perire voluerunt. Extra Ecclesiam soli remaneant, qui de Ecclesia recesserunt. Soli cum Episcopis non sint qui contra Episcopos *rebellarunt*."—Ep. 43, p. 84. Presbyteri igitur Episcoporum statutis intercedentes, Cypriano, erant contra Episcopos *rebelles*.

deal of zeal and rhetoric,[1] and plainly tells what he means by their *intercession*, namely, that they did what they could to evacuate the force of Ecclesiastical discipline, and the usefulness of penance, by reconciling the lapsers before they had performed their satisfactions according to the canons.[2] And now that I have mentioned the Bishop's tribunitian power, his power of intercession, of prohibiting, of voiding by his negative voice, or stepping in with his paramount power, to stop all procedure which he did not think proper, or prudent, or seasonable, in any matter of consequence, Let me further add,

XXXIX.—XV. That we have every whit as good evidences of the Bishops having the same *power* in the Church, which the Roman *censors* had in the State. That our martyr did very well understand what was the character and the office of a Roman Censor, no man, I think, will doubt, who considers either the time when he lived, or the employment he had pursued before he turned Christian, or the great evidences of his singular erudition, which are visible in his writings. Indeed, nothing more manifest than that he always uses both terms, *censor* and *censura*, as they imported such an office. Thus, in his notable epistle to Donatus, discoursing of the abominations that were com-

[1] Unum illud (in quo non mea, nec hominum, sed Dei causa est) de eorum facinore non puto esse reticendum; quod à primo statim persecutionis Die, cum recentia delinquentium facinora ferverent, et sacrificiis nefandis non tantum diaboli altaria, sed adhuc manus ipsæ lapsorum atque ora fumarent, communicare cum lapsis et pœnitentiæ agendæ *intercedere* non destiterunt. Clamat Deus; SACRIFICANS DIIS ERADICABITUR——et *intercedunt* ne rogetur Deus, qui indignari se ipse testatur. *Intercedunt* ne exoretur precibus et satisfactionibus Christus qui negantem se negare profitetur. *Nos* in ipso persecutionis tempore de hoc ipso literas misimus (Epist. nempe 16), nec *auditi sumus*. Concilio frequenter acto, non consensione tantum nostra (Episcoporum) sed et comminatione *decrevimus*, ut pœnitentiam fratres agerent, ut pœnitentiam non agentibus nemo temere pacem daret; et illi (quinque Presbyteri, &c.) contra Deum sacrilegi, contra *sacerdotes Dei* (Episcopos) impio furore temerarii, de Ecclesia recedentes, et contra Ecclesiam parricidalia arma tollentes, elaborant (ut opus suum diaboli malitia consummet)—Epist. 59, p. 133, 134.

[2] Datur opera, ne satisfactionibus et lamentationibus justis delicta redimantur, ne vulnera lacrymis abluantur. Pax vera (quam Episcoporum solorum erat concedere) falsæ pacis mendacio (quam dandi ejus juris expertes, dabant sua auctoritate Presbyteri) tollitur, salutaris sinus matris novercâ *intercedente* præcluditur—*Ibid.* p. 134.

mitted among the heathens, and the pains they were at, and the arts they used to conceal them; he says, "that in public, they could be accusers, while in private they themselves were criminals, and they could be *censors*, though they themselves were guilty persons."[1] And in his excellent discourse concerning the "Habit of Virgins," condemning the arts then in use, of colouring the hair and painting the face, &c., he says he thinks it strange, that the users of such arts did not reflect that they were to appear before God at the great day, who will be sure to rebuke them with the *vigour* of a *censor* and a *judge*.[2] Now, that which I observe is, that we do not only most frequently read of the Bishops having the power of *censures*, the *censura sacerdotalis*, &c., but on all occasions almost, we have this power of their's represented in the very terms and style usual among the Romans for expressing the power of their *censors*, that is, we have it represented with all its awful concomitants, *gravity*, *severity*, *stayedness*, *resolution*, &c.; nay, the very putting a *mark* on one, *noting* him, &c. All which laid together, give us the true portraiture of a *censor*. Whoso is capable may competently judge in this matter by the testimonies on the margin.[3] Further yet,

[1] Iidem in publico accusatores, in occulto rei: in semetipsos *censores* pariter, et nocentes. Tom. I. p. 6.

[2] Non metuis oro quæ talis es, ne cum resurrectionis dies venerit, artifex tuus te non recognoscat, et ad sua prœmia et promissa venientem removeat et excludat? *increpans* vigore *censoris* et *judicis*—Tom. I. p. 100.

—[3] Si virgines inventæ fuerint, accepta communicatione ad Ecclesiam admittantur; hac tamen *interminatione*, ut si ad eosdem masculos postmodum reversæ fuerint——*graviore censura ejiciantur*, nec in Ecclesiam postmodum facile recipiantur. Epis. 4, p. 9.

Animadvertimus enim te (Cyprianum alloquuntur Confessores Romani) congruente *censura*, et eos dignè *objurgasse*, qui immemores delictorum suorum pacem à *Presbyteris* per *absentiam tuam* festinatâ et præcipiti cupiditate extorsissent; et illos (presbyteros Episcopali censuræ pariter obnoxios) qui sine respectu Evangelii, SANCTUM DOMINI CANIBUS ET MARGARITAS PORCIS profana facilitate donassent—Epist. 31, p. 63.

—Omnia penitus potestis inspicere lectis libellis (De Lapsis, et De Unitate Ecclesiæ) quos hic nuper legeram, et ad vos quoque legendos pro communi dilectione transmiseram, ubi lapsis nec *censura* deest, quæ *increpet*, nec medicina, quæ sanet. Epist. 54, p. 100.

Et quidem primùm, quoniam de *meo* quoque *actu* motus videris, *mea* apud te et persona et causa purganda est, ne me aliquis existimet à proposito *meo leviter* recessisse; et cum Evangelicum vigorem primò et inter initia defenderim, postmodum *videar* animum *meum* à *disciplina*, et *censura* priore flexisse—Ad Antonianum, Epist. 55, p. 101.

XL.—One other term there is, not unfrequently used by St Cyprian to signify the power Episcopal, than which he himself seems to have deemed none more significant or proper to express the fullest, the highest, the unconfinedest power. It is *licentia;* this term, in the Cyprianic dialect, signifies a power of doing things at pleasure, without being accountable to, or dependent on any superior. And indeed this is the proper import of the word, if we may believe the etymologists.[1] This term our martyr chooses to express that great, that heaven-born dominion, that most heroic conquest, which the regenerate man obtains over the devil, the world, and his own corruptions.[2] This

Et quidem apud antecessores nostros, quidam de *Episcopis,* istic in provincia nostra dandam pacem mœchis non putaverunt, et in totum pœnitentiæ locum contra adulteria clauserunt ; non tamen à *coepiscoporum* suorum *collegio* recesserunt, aut Catholicæ Ecclesiæ unitatem vel duritiæ, vel *censuræ* suæ obstinatione ruperunt—Epist. 55, p. 110.

Quod si de *Collegis* aliquis exstiterit, qui urgente certamine pacem fratribus et sororibus non putant dandam, reddet ille rationem in die judicii Domino, vel *importunæ censuræ,* vel inhumanæ duritiæ suæ. Epist. 57, p. 119.

Legi literas tuas, frater carissime ——et dilectionis fraternæ et Ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ, et *sacerdotalis censuræ* satis plenas—Epist. 59, p. 126.

Sed non icirco, frater carissime, relinquenda est ecclesiastica disciplina aut *sacerdotalis* solvenda *censura,* quoniam conviciis infestamur—*Ibid.* p. 127.

"Jam causa eorum (Felicissimi, &c.) cognita est; jam de eis dicta sententia est, nec *censuræ* congruit *sacerdotum* (*i. e.* Episcoporum) *mobilis* atque *inconstantis animi levitate* reprehendi"—*Ibid.* p. 137. Non Fabricius, non ipse Cato Censorius censorem aptius apertiusve depinxisset.

Cui rei nostrum est consulere et subvenire, frater carissime, qui divinam clementiam cogitantes, et *gubernandæ Ecclesiæ libram tenentes* sic *censuram vigoris* (utique Episcopalis) peccatoribus exhibemus, ut tamen lapsis erigendis, et curandis, vulneratis, bonitatis et misericordiæ divinæ medicinam non denegemus. Ad Stephanum de Marciano Episcopo Arelatensi. Epist. 68, p. 176, 177.

Epist. item 76, p. 230. Episcopos quosdam cordicitus exosculatur quod inter alia summæ virtutis experimenta, in disciplinæ *severitate censuram* conservassent : Episcopos, inquam, nam Presbyteri, et Diaconi, licet, cæterique fratres in Metallo constituti in epistolæ inscriptione reperiantur, id, tamen, quod protulimus, ad Episcopos solos esse referendum ex epistolæ totius filo manifestum est.

Epist. itidem 59, p. 132. Phrasi censoria vulgatissima utitur noster, dum Privatum Lambesitanum ait Fabiani et Donati, illius Romæ, hujus Carthaginis, Episcoporum quondam fuisse sententiâ *severissime notatum.*

[1] Licentia proprie est facultas secundum quam aliquid *licet* ut quis faciat vel omittat, vel impediat.

[2] Ceterum si tu innocentiæ, si justitiæ viam teneas, si illapsa firmitate vestigii tui incedas, si in Deum viribus totis, ac toto corde suspensus ; hoc

is the term he singles out to signify that incomparable freedom those are blessed with who receive the Holy Spirit; and that we may the better understand his meaning, he chooses another term to explain it by—the term *potentatus*—a term coined, as it were, and contrived on purpose to signify dominion in its greatest height and elevation.[1] This term *licentia* he chooses to express our Saviour's stupendous and astonishing power of casting out devils—of fixing the nerves of paralytics—of purging lepers—of restoring eyes to the blind, and feet to the cripple—of raising the dead, and exercising a despotic power over all the elements, &c.[2] And he seems to have known no term fitter, or more emphatic, for expressing the paramount, the peerless, the uncontrolled and unconfined power of the Roman Emperors.[3] Now,

XLI.—This very term our martyr uses on divers occasions to signify the sovereign, the paramount, the peerless power of Bishops. By necessary consequence, on almost all occasions on which he compares the crime of rebelling against Bishops to the crying sin of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, *e. g.* in that notable Synodical Epistle (Epist. 67) whereof no doubt he was the penman, one of the great arguments insisted on against Martialis and Basilides their resuming the episcopal office, after they had been deposed as lapsers, and their Bishoprics were filled, is, that such an attempt was like the sin of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram,

sis tantum quod esse cœpisti; tantum tibi ad *licentiam* datur, quantum gratiæ spiritalis augetur. Ad Donatum, p. 3.

[1] ——Acceptus spiritus *licentia* sua potitur——quantus hic animi *potentatus*, quanta vis est? Non tantum ipsum esse substractum perniciosis contactibus mundi, ut qui expiatus et purus, nulla incursantis inimici labe capiatur: sed adhuc majorem et fortiorem viribus fieri, ut in omnem adversarii grassantis exercitum *imperioso jure dominetur*. *Ibid.* p. 4.

[2] Itaque cum Christus Jesus——verbo et vocis imperio dæmonia de hominibus excuteret, paralyticos restringeret, leprosos purgaret, illuminaret cæcos, claudis gressum daret, mortuos rursus animaret, cogeret sibi elementa famulari, servire ventos, maria obedire, inferos cedere; Judæi quī illum crediderant hominem tantum, de humilitate carnis et corporis; existimabant magum, de *licentia potestatis*. De Idol. Vanit. p. 16.

[3] Quos honores putas esse, quos fasces, quam affluentiam in divitiis, quam potentiam in castris, in magistratu purpuræ speciem, in *principatu licentiæ potestatem;* malorum blandientium virus occultum est; arridentis nequitiæ facies quidem læta, sed calamitatis abstrusæ illecebrosa fallacia. Ad Donatum, p. 7.

who assumed to themselves a *licentia*, a sovereign power of sacrificing, in opposition to Aaron the Priest.[1] And Epist. 73, written to Jubaianus, he compares the crime of heretics and schismatics, who presume to baptize without dependence upon, or in opposition to their Bishops, to the unhallowed course of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, who usurped *licentia sacrificandi*, an independent power of sacrificing, in opposition to Moses, and Aaron the Priest.[2] From both these passages, I say, it follows by necessary consequence, that Bishops, and Bishops alone, had the *licentia*, the sovereign power of governing the Church, &c., that they had the original and independent power; and all exercise of power within their districts was sacrilegious and schismatical, which was not performed in dependence on them, and for which the exercisers refused to account to them. Nothing clearer than that this is the result of our martyr's reasoning in both cases. Basilides and Martialis would be guilty of the sin of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, if they should attempt to resume the Episcopal office, now that Felix and Sabinus were duly and canonically possessed of those Bishoprics which they had holden before they lapsed and were deposed. And all the heretics and schismatics who presumed to baptize, &c. were likewise guilty of the sin of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, because they did so in independence on the Bishop of the district. This is the reasoning:—And the consequence is unavoidable, namely, that Bishops, and none but Bishops, have the *licentia*, the sovereign, the absolute, the independent power of Church government. And whoso besides them assumes any such *licentia* to perform any acts relating to discipline or government within their districts, without depending on them, or being ready to account to them, are *ipso facto* involved in the guilt of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and so obnoxious to their punishment. But

XLII.—The most considerable passage to the purpose is in Epistle 69. Magnus had written to our martyr, craving his sentiment concerning heretical and schismatical baptisms,

[1] Quod item in numeris manifestari invenimus, quando Chore, et Dathan et Abiron, contra Aaron sacerdotem sacrificandi sibi *licentiam* vindicaverunt. Epist. 67, p. 171.

[2] Nam et Chore, et Dathan et Abiron, contra Moysen, et Aaron sacerdotem sacrificandi sibi *licentiam* usurpare conati sunt. Ep. 73, p. 201.

and particularly, the baptisms of the Novatianists. And our martyr gives it very plainly and peremptorily; he concludes all such baptisms null and nought; not *sanctifications* but *profanations;* not *profitable* but *pernicious*, &c. And one of the main reasonings he insists on is, that even the Novatianists, much as they pretend to profess all the articles of the true Christian faith, were as bad as, if not worse than Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, &c. Take it in his own words, at least in his own sense, as near as I can give it; "Korah, Dathan, and Abiram," says he, "owned the same God whom Aaron and Moses owned; they professed to own the same law, and the same religion; and they invocated the only and true God who was to be worshipped and invocated. Nevertheless, because they attempted an higher ministry than their place or station allowed them, and assumed to themselves a *licence* of sacrificing, in opposition to Aaron the priest, who was possessed of the lawful priesthood by God's vouchsafement and appointment, they were smitten of God, and punished in an instant for their unhallowed attempts. Neither could their sacrifices be good in law, or any way available, because they were offered unlawfully, and against the authority of the Divine ordinance.—And yet these men had made no schism, they had not *gone out* (that is, had not erected another altar, and formed another communion,) nor had they foolishly and in an hostile manner stood up against God's priests, as those (Novatianists) have done, who have divided the Church, and rebelled against Christ's peace and unity; having presumed to set up to themselves an (Episcopal) chair, and assume an (Episcopal) Primacy, and vindicate to themselves *licentiam baptizandi* atque *offerendi*, an unaccountable and independent, that is, the sovereign power of the Christian sacraments. How can such perform what they undertake? How can they obtain any thing of God by their unlawful presumptions, who, against God undertake that which is not lawful for them; (quod eis non *licet*) that for which they have no power, no allowance, no commission? Wherefore they, whosoever they are, who patronize Novatianus, or the like schismatics, do in vain contend, that there (illic in that, or any other schismatical communion) any man can be washen or sanctified by salutary baptism, where it is certain the baptizer has not (though he

pretends to it, as Novatianus doth) the *sovereign power* of baptism.[1]

XLIII.—In which discourse we have these things observable. 1. That the crime of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, consisted in their assuming to themselves an absolute, an independent, *i. e.* a sovereign power of sacrificing, in opposition to Aaron the Priest; which sovereign or independent power our martyr calls *licentia sacrificandi.* Nothing plainer from the testimony. It was a power higher than could agree to Levites, above their *locus* and their *ministerium*, their place or degree, and their ministry; and it was a power [contra] in opposition to, not in dependence on Aaron, who alone was invested with the sovereign sacerdotal power by Divine ordination. So much, as I said, is plain from the testimony. But though it had not been so plain here, as you see it is,—it might have been made appear, beyond all contradiction, from the very same reasoning as our martyr insists on it in other terms on another occasion. It is in Epistle 3, where having adduced this instance of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, he expressly tells us, that their crime consisted in this, "that they were so haughty, and so raised their crests, that they were bold to *equal* themselves (to act as independent on, and standing on a level) with the High Priest, whom God had appointed to be over them."[2] So

[1] Nam et Chore, et Dathan et Abiron, cum sacerdote Aaron et Moysen eundem Deum noverant, pari lege et religione viventes, unum et verum Deum, qui colendus et invocandus fuerat, invocabant. Tamen quia *loci* sui ministerium transgressi contra Aaron sacerdotem, qui sacerdotium legitimum dignatione Dei atque ordinatione perceperat, *sacrificandi* sibi *licentiam* vindicaverunt, divinitus percussi pœnas statim pro illicitis conatibus penderunt; nec potuerunt rata esse, et proficere sacrificia, irreligiosè et illicitè contra jus divinæ dispositionis oblata.——Et tamen illi schisma non fecerant, nec *foras* egressi, contra Dei sacerdotes imprudenter et hostiliter rebellaverant; quod nunc hi [Novatianenses, scil.] ecclesiam scindentes, et contra pacem atque unitatem Christi rebelles, *cathedram* sibi constituere et *primatum* assumere, et baptizandi atque offerendi *licentiam* vindicare conantur. Quomodo perficere quæ agunt, aut impetrare aliquid illicitis conatibus de Deo possunt, qui contra Deum, quod eis non *licet*, moliuntur? Quare qui Novatiano, sive cæteris ejusmodi schismaticis patrocinantur, frustra contendunt baptizari et sanctificari *illic* aliquem salutari baptismo posse, ubi constet baptizantem baptizandi *licentiam* non habere. Epist. 69, p. 183, 184.

[2] Celebri illo, Deut. xvii. 12, ad Episcoporum auctoritatem stabiliendam adducto, sic pergit noster—"Et ut sciamus hanc Dei vocem cum vera et summa majestate processisse ad honorandos et vindicandos *sacerdotes* suos;

that the *licentia sacrificandi* which they usurped, was necessarily such a supreme power as Aaron had, but none could have but Aaron. 2. It is every whit as clear, that the *licentia baptizandi atque offerendi*, usurped by Novatianus, was a power of the same nature with that usurped by Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, that is, a sovereign and independent power of the Christian sacraments. The solidity of the reasoning requires this, as must be obvious to every body. Indeed, without supposing this, the reasoning is not only naught aud inconcludent, but notoriously ridiculous. But these two things being thus so clear, it must needs follow, 3. That the crime of Novatianus was, that he usurped *licentiam baptizandi atque offerendi*, a sovereign power of the Christian sacraments; a power to administer them without depending upon, or being accountable to Cornelius, or whoever was Bishop of Rome when this Epistle was written; who alone by Divine appointment, was (within his own district) invested with that *licentia*, that power, sovereign and independent.

XLIV.—But it is not only to be collected by irrefragable consequences that St Cyprian ascribed to the Bishop this *licentia*, this absolute and independent or sovereign power,—twice I remember he ascribes it to him most formally and expressly, particularly Epistle 3, having fully asserted Bishop Rogatianus's power to punish his rebellious Deacon, and that, either by despotism or excommunication, he subjoins, "that it were indeed much more to be desired that such delinquents should do penance, and make satisfaction; for we wish and desire," says he, "rather to overcome the reproaches and injuries of every man by merciful patience, than to punish them *sacerdotali licentia*, by the sovereign power of our Episcopacy."[1] The other passage (and a very remarkable one), we have in our martyr's discourse at the opening up of the venerable council of Carthage, anno 256, where, encouraging every Bishop there

(Episcopos) cum adversus Aaron sacerdotem tres de ministris, Chore, et Dathan, et Abiron, ausi sunt superbisse et cervicem suam extollere, et sacerdoti *præposito* se *adæquare*, hiatu terræ absorpti."—Epist. 3, p. 5.

[1] Magis anim optamus et cupimus contumelias et injurias singulorum clementi patientia vincere, quam *sacerdotali licentia* vindicare.—Ep. 3, p. 7.

present to give his sentiment frankly and freely, without fear, and without reserve; he gives this reason for it, "that none of them (neither himself nor any other) pretended, or could pretend to be Bishop of Bishops, or by a tyrannical terror, to force his *colleagues* to the necessity of obedience; seeing every Bishop, by virtue of the *licentia*, the absoluteness and independency of his power, was entirely master of his own resolutions, and could no more be judged by others, than he could judge others."[1] In which testimony we have not only the original equality of Bishops most plainly and distinctly asserted, and thereby the Bishop of Rome's pretensions most manifestly subverted, but also the Episcopal authority or power most expressly affirmed to be absolute and independent; expressly affirmed, I say, in these words, "*quando habeat omnis Episcopus pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ arbitrium proprium.*" And this leads me to another term or phrase, whereby St Cyprian sometimes expresses the sovereign power of Bishops. It is

XLV.—This *liberum arbitrium* which our martyr ascribes to every Bishop; and which manifestly imports that every Bishop within his own district, was fully master of his own resolutions and determinations, and independent in his government, that is, had no superior on earth to whom he was accountable, and in all cases not determined by the laws of God, or the canons of the Church, might administer discipline, and perform acts of government, without being bound to answer to any man, or society of men for it. Nothing clearer in all the Cyprianic monuments, as appears

[1] Neque enim quisquam nostrum Episcopum se Episcoporum, constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem *Collegas* suos adigit; quando habeat omnis Episcopas pro *licentia* libertatis et potestatis suæ, arbitrium proprium; tamque judicari ab alio non possit, quam nec ipse potest judicare. Sed expectemus universi judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui *unus* et *solus* habet potestatem, et præponendi nos in Ecclesiæ suæ *gubernatione*, et de *actu* nostro judicandi. Tom. I. p. 229, 230.

"Ceterum scimus quosdam quod semel imbiberint nolle deponere, nec propositum suum facilè mutare, sed salvo inter *Collegas* pacis et concordiæ vinculo, quædam propria, quæ apud se semel sint usurpata, retinere. Qua in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus aut legem damus, cum habeat in Ecclesiæ administratione, *voluntatis suæ arbitrium liberum unusquisque Præpositus, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus.*" Hæc noster ad ipsum Romanum Stephanum, et ipsum tunc temporis duntaxat *Collegam*. Epist. 72, p. 197, 198.

not only from the preceding testimony, but also from these other two, which you have on the margin.[1]

XLVI.—Thus I have collected and represented seventeen terms and phrases frequently occurring in the monuments of the Cyprianic age, whereby it is evident that, by the received principles of that age, a Bishop had not only more dignity, but even more power than Presbyters. Let any man (even G[ilbert] R[ule] himself, on condition he will for once be ingenuous) lay them together; let him lay together, if he will, only the last seven, nay, only the last four of these seven—the Bishop's negative power I mean, or power of intercession, his power of censures, his unconfined and independent power (or, in other words, his tribunitian, his censorian, his imperatorial powers), and his power of governing his own Church according to his own arbitriment, and then let him say, if he can, that a Bishop in Cyprian's time had *only more dignity* than Presbyters, but *not more power or authority*. Let him reconcile what hath been so fully proposed and proved with the idea of a Presbyterian Moderator.

XLVII.—But perhaps G[ilbert] R[ule] will have in readiness to say, that all this is but arguing from words, and so can never amount to any considerable evidence. I wish he may not so trifle. For it is plain to any who shall seriously consider the testimonies I have adduced, that the force of my arguments does not at all depend on the mere import of terms or phrases precisely considered, but on the import of them, as they were used to signify the Bishops' superior power in so many weighty cases of government and discipline, and that, many times, even where Presbyters were the persons mainly concerned. By necessary consequence, to say that all has been but arguing from words, must be to trifle most notoriously. But lest he should so trifle, proceed we to the next thing proposed.

[1] "Hæc tibi breviter pro nostra mediocritate rescripsimus, frater carissime, nemini præscribentes, aut præjudicantes, quo minus unusquisque *Episcoporum* quod putat faciat, *habens arbitrii sui liberam potestatem.*" Ad Jubaianum, Epist. 73, p. 209, 210, sed de hoc postea fortassis fusius.

CHAPTER VI.

G[ILBERT] R[ULE]'S SECOND MAIN SUBTERFUGE, VIZ.—THAT A BISHOP IN ST CYPRIAN'S TIME HAD ONLY MORE DIGNITY, BUT NOT MORE POWER THAN PRESBYTERS—FURTHER OVERTHROWN, BY PRODUCING A SPECIMEN OF REAL AND SUBSTANTIAL PREROGATIVES LODGED IN THE PERSONS OF BISHOPS OF THAT AGE, AS CONTRA-DISTINCT FROM PRESBYTERS.

SECT. I. THE next thing I undertook to make appear was, that the Bishops of the Cyprianic Age, as contra-distinguished from Presbyters, were in possession of such substantial prerogatives as may justify the propriety of the terms and phrases already insisted on, and make it evident that those terms and phrases, importing a majority of power in Bishops above Presbyters, imported no more than was naturally and necessarily consequential to such prerogatives. I undertake only to give a specimen of them. I doubt not the monuments of the Cyprianic Age, well sifted, may afford more, as they may likewise of such terms and phrases as I have already accounted for. I call them prerogatives, but I am not to engage in disputations about the propriety or the precise signification of the name. As it is enough to my purpose, so it is to me, if I shall insist on nothing but what may be properly denominated a prerogative, or may at least be reduced to one by fair and just consequence. This being premised for preventing of unnecessary jangle, proceed we to produce our specimen. And

II.—By the Principles of the Cyprianic Age, Bishops as such, Bishops as contra-distinguished from Presbyters, were believed to be *successors* to the *Apostles* in the supreme power ecclesiastical. Nothing more clearly demonstrable from the monuments of that age. St Cyprian, in Epistle 3, written to Bishop Rogatianus, encouraging him to make

his rebellious Deacon feel the dint of his Episcopal power, discourses thus—"Deacons ought to remember that our Lord choosed *Apostles*, that is, *Bishops* and *Rulers*, and that it was after our Lord's ascension that Deacons were made by the *Apostles* for the service of *Episcopacy* and of the Church: wherefore, as *we* (Bishops) ought to do nothing against God, who makes *Bishops*, so neither ought Deacons to do any thing against *us* (Bishops), by whom they are made. It is necessary, therefore, that your Deacon, concerning whom you write, should acknowlege the honour of the *Priest*, and make satisfaction to the *Bishop*, his superior, in the humblest manner."[1]—What can be plainer than it is here, that *Bishops*, *as such*, are the Apostles' *successors?*

III. I know it hath been said here by some of our Presbyterian adversaries that St Cyprian more than once calls Presbyters *Præpositos*, that here he distinguishes between *Episcopos* and *Præpositos;* so that by *Præpositos*, Presbyters are to be understood, and by consequence, he makes Presbyters, as well as Bishops, successors to the Apostles. But this seeming difficulty is soon removed; for it is indeed a palpable (not to call it a wilful) mistake, to say that St Cyprian does here distinguish between *Episcopos* and *Præpositos*. He only uses two words to signify the same thing. Nothing more ordinary in the Cyprianic style than such copulations and synonymas. Hundreds of instances might be adduced: you have half-a-dozen on the margin for a sample.[2] We have a remarkable one in the same period in

[1] Meminisse autem Diaconi debent, quoniam *Apostolos*, id est, *Episcopos et Præpositos* dominus elegit; Diaconos autem post ascensum Domini in cœlos *Apostoli* sibi constituerunt *Episcopatus sui* et Ecclesiæ ministros: Quod si *nos* aliquid audere contra Deum possumus, qui *Episcopos* facit; possunt et contra *nos* audere Diaconi, à *quibus* fiunt. Et ideo oportet Diaconum, de quo scribis, agere audaciæ suæ pœnitentiam, et honorem *sacerdotis* agnoscere, et *Episcopo præposito* suo plena humilitate satisfacere. Hæc sunt enim initia hæreticorum et ortus atque conatus schismaticorum malè cogitantium, ut sibi placeant et *Præpositum* superbo tumore contemnant. Epist. 3, p. 6.

[2] "Nec putent sibi vitæ aut salutis constare rationem, si *Episcopis* et *sacerdotibus* obtemperare noluerint." Ep. 4, p. 9. Solos autem Episcopos utraque voce denotari, ex sequentibus est manifestissimum. "Certè quod *præpositis* et *sacerdotibus* convenit." Ep. 45, p. 87. "Sic nunc *Episcopo* confessore Domini et *sacerdote* redeunte." Ep. 61, p. 145. "Sed et *collegarum* quoque et *consacerdotum* nostrorum." Ep. 62, p. 147. "Quis enim hic est superbiæ tu-

these words:—" Honorem sacerdotis agnoscere, et Episcopo præposito suo plena humilitate satisfacere," where both terms, sacerdos and Episcopus præpositus signify the same person; and both phrases—" honorem sacerdotis agnoscere," and " Episcopo præposito suo plena humilitate satisfacere" signify the same thing, the one being only exegetic of the other. In short, that in the instance before us, *Episcopos et Præpositos*, the same persons are signified, or persons of the same order, is plain from the whole context; nay, from the design of the whole Epistle. Is not the purpose of St Cyprian's reasonings all the Epistle over, and particularly in this period, to shew what a dutiful subjection Deacons owe to their Bishops? Is not this his argument, that our Lord instituted Bishops in the institution of Apostles, whereas Deacons were afterwards instituted by the Apostles, who were Bishops, and therefore such an humble subjection is due from Deacons to Bishops? What then should have brought Presbyters into the reckoning? What should have haled them into the reasoning who were in nowise interested in the design of it?—into the premises who were not concerned in the conclusion? Besides, is it not plain from the whole series of the reasoning that our martyr meant only such Præpositi as made or ordained Deacons? And who can have the confidence to say that either the canons or the customs of the Cyprianic Age allowed Deacons to be ordained by Presbyters? Doth not St Cyprian, all over the reasoning, use the two terms, Episcopus and Præpositus indiscriminately, and as terms equivalent? And then consider the testimony, as you have it above on the margin, and you'll find it clear as light, that by *Præpositos*, he meant those who were principles of unity to their respective churches. Such *Præpositi*, as of whom the contempt had such a natural tendency towards heresies and schisms. But who can say that this could agree to Presbyters by the principles of St Cyprian and his contemporaries?

IV.—The same prerogative is every whit as clearly asserted, Epistle 45. For there, having accounted to Cor-

mor—ad cognitionem suam *præpositos* et *sacerdotes* vocare." Ep. 66, p. 167. Sed de hoc testimonio, *vide infra*, sect. 7.—" Episcopatum gerere et sacerdotium Dei administrare." Ep. 67, p. 170. " Nos quantum in nobis est, propter hæreticos cum collegis et coepiscopis nostris non contendimus." Epist. 73, p. 210.

nelius concerning the measures the African Bishops had taken, and observed, with regard to the controversy between him and Novatianus ; and particularly, having told him that the chief thing they had in their eye, was to maintain and preserve Catholic unity, and to discourage schism and schismatics, our martyr subjoins thus, " This, brother, is and ought to be our principal work and study, even as much as we can, to take care that that unity may still obtain, which was delivered by our Lord, and by his *apostles, to us their successors.*[1]" Now, that by (*us*) he meant Bishops, as making an order different from that of Presbyters, is clear as the mid-day sun from the series of the Epistle.

V.—Every whit as plain is that other testimony we have in Epistle 66, where our martyr thus chastises Florentius Pupianus, who had questioned his title to his bishopric. " Neither do I say these things (some things he had said in his own defence, of which hereafter) by way of boasting, but with an afflicted heart, seeing thou constitutest thyself a judge of God and of Christ, who says to his Apostles, and *thereby to all Bishops* who *succeed* to the *Apostles* by a *vicarious ordination*, HE THAT HEARETH YOU, HEARETH ME ; AND HE THAT HEARETH ME, HEARETH HIM THAT SENT ME."[2] One would think it were scarcely possible to assert this prerogative more plainly, or word it more distinctly. Yet Blondel found a scruple to throw in here, and G[ilbert] R[ule] after him has mentioned it. It is, that St Cyprian here plainly calleth the successors of the seventy disciples, as well as those of the apostles, *præpositos*. Why so? Because of them that place, Luke x. 16, which he citeth, is to be understood.[3] And true it is, indeed, that saying was directed by our Lord to the seventy ; nor do we find it any where in any of the four gospels, in terminis directed to the twelve. But what advantage can G[ilbert] R[ule] make of such an observation? Is it that St Cyprian calls Presbyters, who by many are said to have succeeded to the seventy præpositos,

[1] Hoc enim vel maxime, frater, et laboramus ; et laborare debemus ut unitatem à Domino, et per *Apostolos nobis successoribus* traditam, quantum possumus, obtinere curamus, et quod in nobis est, palabundas et errantes oves, quas quorundam pervicax factio, et hæretica tentatio à matre secernit, in ecclesiam colligamus. Ep. 45, p. 88.

[2] Vide paulo *infra*, sect. 9.

[3] Cyp. Bish. Ex. sect. 39, p. 53.

as well as the Bishops, who succeed to the twelve? Will he allow of such an imparity between Bishops and Presbyters, as there must needs be, if Bishops succeed to the twelve, and Presbyters only to the seventy? Or did G[ilbert] R[ule] intend that which seems to have been intended (though pretty obscurely worded [1] by his master Blondel,) viz., that St Cyprian by applying to the twelve, that which was said by our Lord to the seventy, did insinuate an equality between the twelve and the seventy, and by consequence a parity among their successors? But how can this prove a solid advantage to him, so long as it is impossible for him to make it appear so much as probable, that St Cyprian believed the seventy, as making a distinct college from that of the twelve, to have had any standing office in the Christian Church, in which they were to have a constant line of successors? No intimation, no not the slenderest insinuation of such a belief in any of his writings. On the contrary, it is to be presumed, that one of his abilities and diligence in searching the "Evangelical Records," could hardly have missed to observe that which is so obviously observable in them; I mean, that the Christian Church was not, could not be founded till our Lord was risen, seeing it was to be founded on his resurrection. Our martyr (as appears from his reasonings on divers occasions) seems very well to have known, and very distinctly to have observed, that the Apostles themselves got not their commission to be governors of the Christian Church, till after the resurrection. And no wonder, for this their commission is most observably recorded, John, xx. 21, 22, 23; no such thing any where recorded concerning the seventy. Nothing more certain, than that commission which is recorded Luke x. did constitute them only temporary missionaries, and that for an errand which could not possibly be more than temporary.

[1] "Observare dignabitur Christianus lector 1, verba Dominica ad septuaginta discipulos nominatim pertinuisse. 2. Cyprianum qui eos apostolorum titulo dignatur, duodecim πρωτοκλήτοις *quantum licuit* exæquavisse." Blond. Apol. pro Sent. Hieron. p. 43. Quid sibi voluit per hæc verba *quantum licuit*? Cyprianumne, modo *licuisset*, septuaginta duodecim omnino voluisse *exæquatos*, verum quia non *licuit*, non usquequaque *exæquavisse*? Unde liquebat Blondello, adeo Cypriano fuisse in votis, septuaginta duodecim *exæquavisse* modo *licuisset*, unde *licuit* Blondello, quod adeo non *licuit* Cypriano? Blondello vero hanc exæquationem *licuisse* videre est, p. 109, sed hæc obiter.

That commission contains in its own bosom clear evidences that it did not install them in any standing office at all, much less in any standing office in the Christian Church, which was not yet in being when they got it. Could that commission, which is recorded Luke x. any more constitute the seventy, standing officers of the Christian Church, than the like commission, recorded Mat. x. could constitute the twelve such standing officers? But it is manifest, that the commission recorded Mat. x. did not constitute the twelve, governors of the Christian Church; otherwise, what need of a new commission to that purpose after the resurrection? Presumable therefore it is, that St Cyprian did not at all believe that the seventy had any successors, office-bearers in the Christian Church, seeing it is so observable, that they themselves received no commission to be such office-bearers. But if this be so, what is become of the advantage G[ilbert] R[ule] thought to have made of his aforesaid observation?

VI.—But you may say, How then came St Cyprian to accommodate to the twelve that which our Lord said only to the seventy? How could he make this saying an argument for due regards to be paid to Christian Bishops, as being successors to the Apostles, when it was not said to the Apostles, but to the seventy Disciples, who, by the former reasoning, could have no successors, governors of the Christian Church? What if I should answer, That I cannot tell what might move him to make such an accommodation? Would it thence follow that G[ilbert] R[ule]'s groundless fancy must take place, even after it is so fairly proved, not only to be groundless, but repugnant to the truth of the Evangelical history? What if I should say, That it is highly possible that St Cyprian (especially if we suppose him to have written this 66th Epist. in haste,) might have been capable of such a harmless mistake as this, of citing what was said to the seventy, as if it had been said to the twelve? What danger can there be in such a plea? Certainly such an oversight, being at most but an escape of memory, can never weaken his authority in any matter of consequence, especially, seeing it doth in nowise appear that he was ordinarily liable even to such harmless mistakes. Why might not St Cyprian have been capable of such an innocent escape, without any diminution of his

credit, as well as G[ilbert] R[ule] has been in the very citation of this Epistle, in the very same period in which he cites it, in order to make his observation which I have just now considered? He says it was directed to Jubaianus, whereas it was indeed to Florentius Pupianus. Was it not as excusable in Cyprian to have fallen into his mistake (if he fell into it), when it may be supposed that he wrote his Epistle in a hurry, as it was for G[ilbert] R[ule] to fall into his, when, it is certain, he wrote his book in order to a publication, and, by consequence, was bound to write it with the greatest accuracy? And yet, had G[ilbert] R[ule] been guilty of no greater mistakes in his book, he should have passed with me for an excellent author. But as I need not, so I do not lay any stress on this answer.

I have another at hand which seems to me to be both solid and satisfactory; it is, that the intrinsic accommodableness of the saying to the twelve, as well as to the seventy, might justly have moved St Cyprian to accommodate it to them. Though it was originally spoken to the seventy, yet such a saying it was, as was equally proper to have been said not only to the twelve, but to any to whom our Lord, at any time, gave any commission, any manner of way, to declare or proclaim any Gospel truth. It was indeed a saying virtually contained in every commission granted by him, and by consequence, most eminently contained in the most eminent commissions, such as those were which were granted to the twelve Apostles. It was a saying pronounced by our Lord by way of encouragement to the seventy; and St Cyprian did not doubt (as he had no reason) that the Apostles had an interest in it proportionable to the importance of their commission, and by consequence, even a greater interest than that of the seventy themselves, to whom it was originally directed. And now,

VII.—If this be a just and solid account of the matter (as I will still hold it to be, till G[ilbert] R[ule] shall solidly prove that it is not) there can remain no difficulty about this testimony of St Cyprian's. Nothing can hinder it from being a plain and positive evidence, that Bishops are successors to the Apostles in the supreme power ecclesiastical. This is certain, St Cyprian, by *Præpositos*, meant Bishops, and Bishops only; Bishops, as making a distinct

order from Presbyters. Nothing more certain than this, from the whole train of his discourse and reasoning. Pupianus had so far questioned his integrity, as that he pretended he had forfeited his title to his Bishopric; and he had separated from his communion. Now, consider how our martyr reasons the case with him; he tells him, that before the persecution, he himself (Pupianus) had owned him as a Bishop, and communicated with him. And what had he done in the time of the persecution to unbishop him? Had he lapsed? Had he made the least sinful compliance to avoid the dint of it? Had he not been banished, and his estate confiscated, because he would not at all comply? Nay, had he not suffered for this very cause that he was a Bishop? Had not the sentence pronounced against him most manifestly borne, that it was *as he was a Bishop* that it was pronounced against him? This was so notorious, that if Pupianus would not believe God, who had made him a Bishop, yet he might be convinced that he was one, and one with a good title, by this argument, that, as he was one, the devil had persecuted him with the sentence of proscription. Now, take his very words, as near as I can translate them—"Neither do I say these things boastingly," says he, "but with an afflicted heart, seeing thou constitutest thyself a judge of God and of Christ, who says to his Apostles, and *thereby* to all *Præpositi*, Bishops, who *succeed to the Apostles by a vicarious ordination*—HE THAT HEARETH YOU, HEARETH ME, &c. For hence have schisms and heresies hitherto sprung, and do daily spring, that the *Bishop*, who is *one*, and is *set over* the Church, is contemned by the proud presumption of some, and *the man* whom God has honoured is reputed unworthy by men. For what swelling of pride, what arrogance of spirit, what haughtiness of mind is this, that thou shouldest arraign (præpositos and sacerdotes, *i. e.* in one word) Bishops before thy tribunal! And if we are not purged by thee, and absolved by thy sentence, Lo! now these six years the brotherhood has had no *Bishop*, the people no *ruler*, the flock no *pastor*, the Church no *governor*, Christ no *prelate*, and God no *priest*." You have our martyr's own words on the margin.[1] Let any man of

[1] Nisi si *sacerdos* (*i. e.* pro stylo Cyprianico, Episcopus) tibi fui ante persecutionem, quando mecum communicabas; post persecutionem *sacerdos*

common sense and common ingenuity consider them, and let him say, if he can, that St Cyprian, by *Præpositos*, meant any other than *Bishops;* that it was not *Bishops*, and Bishops alone, whom he affirms to have *succeeded* to the *Apostles* by a *vicarious ordination.* Is not all this reasoning for his own vindication? Is it not manifest, therefore, that he meant by *Præpositi*, such as he was himself? Such as when they were proscribed, were proscribed as *Bishops.* Is it not manifest that he meant such *Præpositi*, as were the principles of unity to their respective Churches? Such as of whom there could be but *one* at once in a church, whatever might be the number of inferior *Præpositi?* What can be plainer than that by all these names of *ruler*, *governor*, *postor*, *prelate*, *priest*, &c. he meant only the *one Bishop?* Could any *one* Presbyter, particularly in the Church of Carthage, in which were many Presbyters, be that *one person* who was *over* the Church? that *one man* whom God had peculiarly honoured? that *one man* who could not be judged by men? that *one man*, whom the whole fraternity, that is, all the Christians in Carthage, had for their *Bishop*—all the people for their *ruler*—the whole flock for its *pastor*—the whole Church for her *governor*—Christ for his *prelate*—and God for his *priest?* I cannot think but there is here such brightness of evidence as will convince even G[ilbert] R[ule] himself when he shall seriously consider it.

VIII.—Much more to this purpose might easily be col-

esse desivi. Persecutio enim veniens te ad summam martyrii sublimitatem provexit, me autem proscriptionis onere depressit, cum publice legeretur; "Si quis tenet vel possidet de bonis Cæcilii Cypriani Episcopi Christianorum—" ut etiam qui non credebant Deo *Episcopum* constituenti, vel diabolo crederent *Episcopum* proscribenti. Nec hæc jacto, sed dolens profero, cum te judicem Dei constituas et Christi, qui dicit ad *apostolos*, ac per hoc ad *omnes Præpositos*, (non quosvis vel cujusvis ordinis, sed) *qui apostolis vicaria ordinatione succedunt* (qui apostolorum vices tenent in summæ potestatis ecclesiasticæ administratione), QUI AUDIT VOS, ME AUDIT, ET QUI ME AUDIT, AUDIT EUM QUI ME MISIT: ET QUI REJICIT VOS, ME REJICIT, ET QUI ME REJICIT, REJICIT EUM QUI ME MISIT. Inde enim schismata et hæreses obortæ sunt et oriuntur, dum *Episcopus qui unus est, et ecclesiæ præest*, superba quorundam præsumtione contemnitur, et *homo dignatione* Dei *honoratus* (ad Episcopatus apicem provectus) indignus ab hominibus judicatur. Quis enim hic est superbiæ tumor, quæ arrogantia animi, quæ mentis inflatio, ad cognitionem suam *Præpositos* et *sacerdotes* vocare; ac nisi apud te purgati fuerimus, et sententia tua absoluti, ecce jam sex annis nec fraternitas habuerit *Episcopum*, nec plebs *Præpositum*, nec grex *Pastorem*, nec Ecclesia *Gubernatorem*, nec Christus *Antistitem*, nec Deus *Sacerdotem?* Epist. 66, p. 166, 167.

lected from the writings of our martyr. For instance, what can be more irresistible than his reasonings on divers occasions, founded on the supposition of this prerogative? particularly in Ep. 33 and Ep. 73, and in his excellent discourse of "The Unity of the Church." But I forbear to insist on them here, because I may have opportunity to do it more fully hereafter.[1]

IX.—Neither was it peculiar to our martyr thus to assert this Episcopal prerogative. Firmilian is every whit as positive. He says expressly, "That the power of remitting sins was given to the Apostles, and to the Churches which they founded, and to the *Bishops who succeed to the Apostles by a vicarious ordination*."[2] He says, indeed, oftener than once, that he does exactly agree with St Cyprian in all his sentiments, and here we have a remarkable instance of it. We have him professing St Cyprian's principles in St Cyprian's very language, using the very phrase of a *vicarious ordination*, which most emphatically imports that Bishops succeeded to the Apostles in the supremacy of the power ecclesiastical. Pontius likewise (our martyr's deacon, his companion in his exile, and his biographer) fairly gives us his testimony to the same purpose, when he tells that St Cyprian was the first Bishop in Africa who, *after the Apostles*, was honoured with the crown of martyrdom; for "since ever the *order of Episcopacy was numbered* at Carthage," (so he words it, but his sense is plainly neither more nor less than if he had said since the succession of Bishops, which began in the Apostles, can be derived down at Carthage) "never any one of the Bishops, though they were very good men, is recorded to have suffered.[3]" And Confessor Clarus à Moscula, though he had been concerned in our pre-

[1] Cap. 10, sect. 2, 3, &c.

[2] Potestas ergo peccatorum remittendorum *Apostolis* data est, et Ecclesiis quas illi à Christo missi constituerunt, et *Episcopis qui eis* (Apostolis) *ordinatione vicaria successerunt*. Ep. 75, p. 225.

[3] "Sic consummata passione perfectum est, ut Cyprianus, qui bonorum omnium fuerat exemplum, etiam *sacerdotales* (Episcopales) coronas in Africa primus imbueret: quia et talis esse *post Apostolos* prior cœperat. Ex quo enim Carthagini *Episcopatus ordo numeratur*, nunquam aliquis, quamvis ex bonis et sacerdotibus, ad passionem venisse memoratur." Pontius in vita Cypr. p. 10. Pontio Afro idem esse *Episcopatus ordinem numerare*, quod Tertulliano, itidem Afro, prius fuerat *ordinem Episcoporum evolvere*, (Tertul. Præscrip. adv. Hær. cap. 32.) atque exinde eundem utriusque esse sensum, quis sanus dubitaverit?

sent controversies, though he had been engaged in a scuffle with G[ilbert] R[ule], could not have more nicely and distinctly worded the matter, than he has done in his suffrage, in the venerable Council of Carthage convocated anno 256, for determining the controversy concerning heretical and schismatical baptisms. For there he affirms that Christ sent his *Apostles*, and "to them *alone* committed the power given him by his Father; to which *Apostles* (says he) *we* (Bishops) have *succeeded*, *governing* the Church of our Lord by the same power," &c. But of this testimony more hereafter.[1]

X.—The mentioning of the controversy concerning heretical and schismatical baptisms, has given me occasion to remember another argument for making it appear that it was the common belief of those times that *Bishops*, as making an order different from that of Presbyters, were the Apostles' successors. It is that the main argument (sure I am St Austin did so reckon of it,)[2] insisted on by Stephen, Bishop of Rome, for the validity of such baptisms was, that it had been handed down to him by an unquestionable tradition, that St Peter and St Paul, who founded the Church of Rome, and to whom he succeeded as Bishop of that See, had sustained the validity of such baptisms: That this was his argument, and that his succession to those Apostles, as founders of the Church of Rome, was involved in his reasoning, seems to me to be demonstratively colligible from Firmilian's account of the argument, and his answers to it. His account of the argument is expressly this, "that Stephen said that the Apostles forbade to baptize those who came from heresy, and delivered this to be observed by their *successors*.[3]" And nothing can be clearer than it is, from his

[1] "Manifesta est sententia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, *Apostolos suos* mittentis, et *ipsis solis* potestatem à patre sibi datam permittentis, *quibus nos successimus*, *eadem potestate* Ecclesiam Domini *gubernantes*"—Suff. 79. Per pronomen vero *nos*, solos denotari Episcopos—Episcopos, inquam, à Presbyteris ordine diversos—infra manifestissimum fiet, sect. 18 et 69, &c.

[2] That St Austin reckoned this to be Stephen's best argument, will appear to any who will take the pains to consult him, De Baptismo Contra Donatistas, Lib. 2, cap. 7, 9. Lib. 3, c. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. Lib. 4, c. 6. Lib. 5, c. 23. De Unico Baptismo contra Petil, c. 9, 11. Contra Cresconium Grammaticum, Lib. 2, c. 33.

[3] Et quidem quantum ad id pertineat quod Stephanus dixit, quasi Apostoli eos qui ab hæresi veniant baptizari prohibuerint, et hoc custodiendum *posteris* tradiderint—Epist. 75, p. 219.

answers to his argument, that the Apostles mentioned in it, were no other than St Peter and St Paul, to whom Stephen succeeded in the Episcopal chair of Rome.

XI.—It might be clear to the satisfaction of every reasonable man, though we had no more than the first thing which Firmilian returns to the argument, which is, that Stephen's allegation was utterly false. He could have no such tradition from those Apostles, from whom he pretended to have it, and that for this very good reason, that in their days there were no heretical communions, by consequence no heretical baptisms—no baptisms out of the true communion of the Church Catholic. It was not only certain that Marcion and Apelles lived late after the Apostles, and at a long distance of time after them, but even the time of Valentinus and Basilides was manifest, and nothing more certain than that it was a long age after the Apostles before they began to rebel against the Church of God, or to separate from it. Nay, it was certain that all the other heretics introduced their wicked sects and perverse inventions [*postea*] after the Apostles had departed this life.[1]—Now, this account of Firmilian's is abundantly true, if by Apostles you mean only St Peter and St Paul, who, according to the calculations of the most accurate chronologists, died anno 64; but it is unquestionably false, and Firmilian himself could not but very well know it to be so, if it was to be understood of the Apostles indefinitely. He could not but know that there were many heretics, such as the Nicolaitans, the Ebionites, the Cerinthians, &c. contemporary with the Apostle St John. No ecclesiastical writer more celebrated, in the days of Firmilian, than Irenæus, that "most curious searcher or sifter of all doctrines," as Tertullian calls him;[2] and he wrote in Greek the language of the

[1] — Neminem tam stultum esse qui hoc credat Apostolos tradidisse, quando etiam ipsas hæreses constet execrabiles ac detestandas *postea* extitisse. Cum et Marcion Cerdonis Discipulus inveniatur, *sero post Apostolos et post longa* ab eis *tempora*, sacrilegam adversas Deum traditionem induxisse. Apelles quoque blasphemiæ ejus consentiens, multa alia nova et graviora fide ac veritati inimica addiderit. Sed et Valentini et Basilidis tempus manifestum est, quod et ipsi post Apostolos et *post longam ætatem*, adversus Ecclesiam Dei sceleratis mendaciis suis rebellaverint. Ceteros quoque hæreticos constat pravas suas sectas et inventiones perversas——*postea* induxisse—p. 219, 220.

[2] Adv. Valent. cap. 5.

country where Firmilian was a Bishop. No doubt, therefore, but such a great man as Firmilian, (one of the most eminent Bishops of his age), was well acquainted with Irenæus's books, particularly his Five against Heresies. But how is it imaginable that he could have read those books without observing that divers heretics were contemporary with St John, without observing that most observable account (and as credibly attested as observable) of St John's running out of the bath when he saw that first-rate enemy of the truth Cerinthus in it?[1] Nay, suppose (if such an incredible supposition may be made) that Firmilian had never seen the books of Irenæus, yet it cannot be supposed that he had not seen (that which no doubt was a part of his canon of the Scriptures) St John's First Epistle, and even from that he could not have learned that in St John's time divers heretics had separated from the Church.[2] Besides, it is scarcely credible that he, who affirms so positively that the time of Valentinus and Basilides was manifest, would have said that it was a long age after the death of St John (perhaps some other Apostles might be brought into the account) before they rebelled against the Church of God. But very justly, because very truly, he might have said it with regard to St Peter and St Paul. It is not to be doubted then, that St Peter and St Paul were the Apostles meant by Stephen and understood by Firmilian. But why these two singled out, and particularly insisted on by Stephen, as approvers and ratifiers of heretical baptisms? and why this so confidently pretended by him to have been handed down to him by unquestionable tradition? Why all this, I say, but because he was their successor in the Episcopal chair of Rome? How G[ilbert] R[ule] may judge of this reasoning I know not, but to me it seems solid and concludent; and yet the good luck is, it is not all I have to rely on; for, indeed,

XII.—Firmilian in plain terms tells us, that St Peter and St Paul were the Apostles meant by Stephen, and that he slandered them by fathering such a tradition on them, seeing it was certain that they taught the quite contrary in their Epistles.[3] Neither does Firmilian once offer to call Stephen's

[1] Lib. 3, cap. 3. [2] 1 John ii. 19.

[3] —— adhuc etiam infamans Petrum et Paulum beatos Apostolos, quasi

succession to them in question. He is earnest indeed to represent Stephen as maintaining a plea very much unbecoming such a succession: so much, indeed, I take to be aimed at, as to St Paul, in that reasoning of his, which runs to this purpose—"That (St Paul Acts xix,) rebaptized those who had been baptized by John the Baptist, —ought not we then (says he) to baptize those who come from heresy to the Church? Will any man say that the Bishops, now-a-days, are greater than St Paul was? which they must needs be, if they are able to do that which he could not; if they, by imposition of hands only, can give the Holy Ghost to heretics when they come to them.[1]" But the case is clearer as to St Peter: Firmilian tells us twice over that Stephen pretended to be his successor—he chastises his pride, indeed, for being too much puffed up with the honour of such a succession—he labours to prove him unworthy of such a succession—he treats him with such a freedom as may convince any man of common sense that he did not believe the Bishop of Rome to be head of the Church Catholic, and far less *his* infallibility. All these things are evident from his language, which you have on the margin.[2] But he is so far from making the least objection against his being St Peter's successor, that he does not insinuate the least doubt about it. Indeed, to have objected

hoc ipsi tradiderint: qui in epistolis suis hæreticos execrati sunt—p. 220.

[1] Quale est autem ut cum Paulum post Joannis baptisma iteratò discipulos suos baptizasse videamus; nos eos qui ab hæresi ad Ecclesiam veniunt post inlictiam et profanam eorum tinctionem baptizare dubitemus? Nisi si *his Episcopis, de quibus nunc*, minor fuit Paulus; ut hi quidem possint per solam manus impositionem venientibus hæreticis dare Spiritum sanctum, Paulus autem idoneus non fuerit——p. 221.

[2] Atque ego in hac parte justè indignor ad hanc tam apertam et manifestam Stephani stultitiam, quod qui sic de *Episcopatus sui loco gloriatur* et se *successionem Petri tenere* contendit, super quem fundamenta Ecclesiæ collocata sunt, multas alias *petras* inducat, et Ecclesiarum multarum nova ædificia constituat, dum esse *illic* (in conventiculis hæreticorum) baptisma sua auctoritate defendit. Nam qui baptizantur, complent sine dubio Ecclesiæ numerum. Qui autem baptisma eorum probat, de baptizatis et Ecclesiam illic esse confirmat. Nec intelligit obfuscari à se et quodammodo aboleri Christianæ petræ veritatem, qui sic prodit et deserit unitatem. Judæos, tamen quamvis ignorantia cæcos et gravissimo facinore constrictos, zelum Dei Apostolus habere profitetur: Stephanus qui per *successionem Petri cathedram habere* se prædicat, nullo adversus hæreticos zelo excitatur—p. 225.

against it in those days, had been to have exposed himself to the common laughter of all Christians, nothing being then more universally received than that the Bishops of Rome were St Peter's successors. It had been certainly most choaking to St Cyprian, to whom his Epistle was written, who has many times asserted that the Bishops of Rome sat in the chair of St Peter. And why should he have made objections against it? he, I say, who (as we have already seen) so firmly believed and plainly affirmed, that "all Bishops were successors to the Apostles?"

XIII.—The sum is this—It was not only universally received as unquestionable truth in the Cyprianic Age, that Bishops, as distinguished from Presbyters, were the successors of the Apostles, in the general, but it was allowed for current, that particular Bishops could (instruct?) their particular successions to particular Apostles, in particular Churches, in the supreme power Ecclesiastical. So, as we have seen, it was allowed to Stephen, Bishop of Rome. No man questioned his succession to St Peter. St Cyprian asserted it frequently. Firmilian did not question it, when it was his interest, when it might have been for the advantage of his cause to have questioned it, if it had been questionable. I say *St Peter*, for there I lay the stress of my present cause, which I think fit to tell G[ilbert] R[ule], that he may not think he has done enough if he shall raise dust against what I have said, to make it seem probable that Stephen did likewise look on St Paul as one of his predecessors. Many other things might have been further adduced for clearing up this prerogative. But what I have said may be sufficient, especially if we consider the next, which if G[ilbert] R[ule] will not allow to be a distinct prerogative, yet, I think, he cannot well refuse it to be a forcible confirmation of the *first*. It is,

XIV.—2. That by the principles of that age, none could be rightfully promoted to the order of Bishops, but by *singular succession*. According to the multiplication of Christians in any city, and its adjacent territory, there might have been a proportionable multiplication of Presbyters. For example, there were forty-six in the city of Rome; but whatever the number of Christians was, however large the city was, however extended its territory, there could be but

one Bishop. For this, in "The Principles of the Cyprianic Age," I produced a few irresistible testimonies.[1] Sure I am, the answers returned to them by G[ilbert] R[ule] are of no imaginable weight.[2] None of them has so much as the *colour* of an answer except one, and that one has no more, if it has so much. It is that Dr Hammond (annot. on Apoc. 11, 3,) says, "there were two Bishops at once in Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Rome." This, I say, has nothing of the substance of an answer; for besides that, (though I do very much honour him as a very learned man, and a very excellent person, yet) I do not think myself obliged to embrace everything he has asserted. Besides this, I say, if Dr Hammond has asserted no such thing concerning the *Cyprianic Age*, (and it is certain he has not), it is plain that his authority is most surprizingly adduced, so long as it is only concerning *that* Age, that G[ilbert] R[ule] and I have our present controversy. All therefore I have now to do, is to add some other arguments to prove that in the Cyprianic Age none could be duly promoted to the Episcopal order but by singular succession. To which purpose,

XV.—We have a most notable testimony in St Cyprian's notable book "Of the Unity of the Church," where, discoursing of schismatical Bishops—Bishops who made pretences in opposition to those who had been canonically promoted—he rejects and condemns them upon this very score—that they were not raised according to Divine disposition, bnt constituting themselves governors without observing the necessary laws of ordination, by assuming to themselves the names of Bishops of Churches, where there was no canonical vacancy.[3] So I understand the phrase, [*nemine Episcopatum dante*] taking the true meaning of it to be, that *no man had made the See void for them to succeed to it.* I understand it so for two reasons; one is, that it is certain that Novatianus (against whom St Cyprian seems mainly to have intended this discourse) was ordained by three Bishops, so that the meaning of the phrase cannot be

[1] P. 11, 12. [2] Cyp. Bish. Exam. sect. 22, p. 27.

[3] Hi sunt qui se ultrò apud temerarios convenas (nempe tres illos rusticos Episcopos qui ordinationi Novatiani interfuerunt) sine Divina dispositione præficiunt, qui se *Præpositos* sine ulla *ordinationis lege* constituunt, qui, *nemine Episcopatum dante*, Episcopi sibi nomen assumunt—De Unit. Eccl. p. 111.

that no Bishops had ordained him; the other is, that the sense which I have given of the phrase is highly agreeable to the then received principles, and particularly to the following testimonies, which serve to explain it, as well as further to confirm the prerogative proposed to be proved. E. 6.

XVI.—How often doth St Cyprian approve, and praise and justify Cornelius his promotion to the See of Rome, upon this very account, that he had been raised canonically, and according to the laws of singular succession? Thus, he tells Cornelius himself, Ep. 44, that when Novatianus's agents came to Carthage, and were very earnest to have an hearing, he gave them this answer once for all, "that they ought to lay aside all contention and debate, and remember that it was impiety to desert their Mother the Church, and that they ought to consider and acknowledge that when once a Bishop was promoted, and his promotion approved by his colleagues and the people, nothing could justify the promotion of another."[1] And Ep. 45, he tells the same Cornelius, that to set up an anti-bishop, as the Novatianists had done, was to set up "an *adulterous* and *contrary head out* of the Church, in plain contradiction to the Divine ordinance, and the fundamental laws of catholic unity."[2] But as for Cornelius, he says "that the *rise* of his ordination was necessary, and the manner of it just;"[3] that is plainly, he had regularly succeeded to the Bishopric of Rome when that See was fairly vacant by the death of Fabianus. And Ep. 55, he justifies the same Cornelius to

[1] —— Quibus semel responsum dedimus, nec mandare desistimus, ut perniciosa dissentione et concertatione deposita impietatem esse sciant, matrem deserere : et agnoscant et intelligant, *Episcopo semel facto*, et collegarum ac plebis testimonio et judicio comprobato, *alium constitui nullo modo posse*. Ep. 44, p. 86.

[2] Sed quoniam diversæ partis obstinata et inflexibilis pertinacia non tantum radicis, et matris sinum, atque complexum recusavit; sed etiam gliscente et in pejus crudescente discordia *Episcopum* sibi constituit, et contra sacramentum semel traditum Divinæ dispositionis, et Catholicæ unitatis, *adulterum et contrarium caput extra Ecclesiam* fecit. Ep. 45, p. 86.

[3] Sic enim nunc *Episcopatus tui* et veritas pariter et dignitas, apertissima luce et manifestissima, et firmissima comprobatione fundata est; ut ex rescriptis Collegarum nostrorum, qui ad nos literas inde fecerunt, et ex relatione ac testimonio coepiscoporum Pompeii, et Stephani, et Caldonii, ac Fortunati, *ordinationis tuæ et origo necessaria, et ratio justa*, et gloriosa quoque innocentia ab omnibus noceretur. Ep. 48, p. 91.

Antonianus, as having been made Bishop "when there was *none made before him*—when the *place* of Fabianus, that is, the *place* of Peter, and the *degree* of the *sacerdotal chair*, was vacant."[1] And Ep. 68, he tells Stephen, Bishop of Rome, how the African Bishops denied communion to Novatianus, because by pretending to be Bishop of Rome, after Cornelius was canonically promoted, "he had turned himself out of the Church, erected a profane altar, constituted an adulterous chair, and attempted to offer sacrilegious sacrifices, in opposition to the true priest," &c.[2] This is likewise St Cyprian's chief plea for himself, against the Carthaginian schismatics, that he had usurped no man's chair—he had not invaded any man's rights—his predecessor was dead before he was promoted, and he succeeded to the chair when it was unquestionably vacant.[3] Briefly,

XVII.—Promotion to a Bishopric by *singular succession* was so very necessary by the Cyprianic principles, that it was as much received that there could be but *one Bishop* at once in a Church, as that there was but one God and one Christ, and one Holy Ghost, and one Catholic Church.[4] It was so indispensibly necessary, that it passed for a principle, that the multiplication of Bishops unavoidably inferred the multiplication of Churches,[5] that the adhering to the one true

[1] Factus est autem Cornelius Episcopus de Dei et Christi ejus judicio, et de clericorum pene omnium testimonio—*cum nemo ante se factus* esset, cum Fabiani *locus, i. e.* cum *locus Petri et gradus cathedræ sacerdotalis vacaret.* —Ep. 55, p. 104.

[2] Et cum ad nos in Africam legatos misisset, (Novatianus) optans ad communicationem nostram admitti, hinc à concilio plurimorum sacerdotum qui præsentes eramus sententiam retulerit; se foris esse cœpisse, nec posse à quoquam nostrum sibi communicari, qui *Episcopo Cornelio* in Catholica Ecclesia de Dei judicio et cleri ac plebis suffragio *ordinato, profanum altare erigere, et adulteram cathedram collocare, et sacrilega* contra *verum sacerdotem sacrificia* offerre tentaverit.—Ep. 68, p. 177.

[3] Ceterum (dico enim provocatus, dico dolens, dico compulsus) quando *Episcopus* in *locum defuncti* substituitur.—Ep. 59, p. 130.

[4] Ep. 43, p. 83, et Ep. 49, p. 93. See Prin. Cyp. Age, p. 8.

[5] "Gravat enim me atque contristat—cum vos illic comperissem" (Maximum, Nicostratum, ceterosque confessores Romanos alloquitur, qui Novatianum secuti Ecclesiam Romanam sciderant) "contra ecclesiasticam dispositionem, contra evangelicam legem, contra institutionis Catholicæ unitatem, *alium Episcopum* fieri consensisse, *i. e.* quod nec *fas* est, nec *licet* fieri, *Ecclesiam aliam constitui,* Christi membra discerpi, Dominici gregis animum et corpus unum discissa æmulatione lacerari."—Ep. 46, p. 89.

Bishop was deemed a real confession of the unity of the Church ;[1] that wherever a second Bishop was set up and a party adhered to him, that party was but a Church of human invention, and had no title to the Divine promises.[2] Or if you will have the same thing in other words, a second Bishop was indeed no Bishop at all.[3] Nay, he was no Christian ;[4] and those who owned him, and adhered to his communion, were out of the Church, which is the spouse of Christ : and if they made a Church at all, it was but a false one—it was no part of the true Catholic Church—of that Church whereof Christ is the Head—of that Church which constitutes his body, and is quickened by his Spirit.[5] Much more might have been collected to this purpose, but methinks what I have said may satisfy any man who has not resolved never to be satisfied.

XVIII.—III. By the Principles of the Cyprianic Age, Bishops, as succeeding to the Apostles by such vicarious ordination and singular succession, had this considerable

[1] "Nam et hæc fidei et laudis vestræ alia *confessio* est, *unam esse Ecclesiam confiteri ;* nec alieni erroris vel potius pravitatis participem fieri."—Verba Cypriani sunt ad Maximum, Urbanum &c. Novatianum deserentes, et ad Ecclesiæ matricem redeuntes.—Ep. 54, p. 99.

[2] — Cum sit à Christo una ecclesia per totum mundum in multa membra divisa, item Episcopatus unus, Episcoporum multorum concordi numerositate diffusus ; ille (Novatianus) post Dei traditionem, post connexam et ubique conjunctam Catholicæ Ecclesiæ unitatem, *humanam conetur Ecclesiam facere.*—Ep. 55, p. 112.

[3] Quo (Fabiani *loco* a Cornelio) occupatô de Dei voluntate, atque omnium nostrum consensione firmato ; quisquis jam Episcopus fieri voluerit, *foris* fiat necesse est ; nec habeat ecclesiasticam ordinationem qui Ecclesiæ non tenet unitatem. Quisquis ille fuerit, multum de se licet jactans, et sibi plurimum vindicans, *profanus* est, *alienus* est, *foris* est. Et cum post *primum secundus esse non possit*, quisquis post *unum* qui *solus* esse debeat, factus est ; non jam *secundus* ille, sed *nullus* est.—Ep. 55, p. 104.

[4] Quisquis ille est, et qualiscunque est, *Christianus* non est, qui in Ecclesia Christi non est. Ibid. p. 112.

[5] Si occisi ejusmodi extra Ecclesiam fuerint, fide coronam non esse, sed pœnam potius esse perfidiæ.—Ep. 60, p. 143.

Intelligimus, frater carissime, et tota cordis nostri luce perspicimus divinæ majestatis salutaria et sancta consilia ; unde illic repentina persecutio nuper exorta sit, unde contra Ecclesiam Christi et *Episcopum* Cornelium beatum Martyrem, vosque omnes secularis potestas subito proruperit : ut ad confundendos hæreticos et retundendos ostenderet Dominus, quæ esset Ecclesia, quis *Episcopus* ejus *unus*, divina ordinatione delectus.—Ep. 61, p. 144, 145. *Vide plura*, Ep. 69, p. 181, imo passim.

prerogative, that they made *one college*, by themselves—a college notoriously distinguished from the college of presbyters. Both Blondel and Salmasius have ingenuously acknowledged this, as hath been already observed;[1] and no wonder, for few things more frequently mentioned in the Cyprianic monuments than the *Episcopal College*,—not any one term more familiar to St Cyprian and his contemporaries, than *collega*, colleague. Yet, however often used, never so much as once allowed by a Bishop to a Presbyter; never so much as once a Presbyter called a Bishop's COLLEAGUE: nothing surer than this; so that wherever you find St Cyprian, after he was a Bishop, talking of his colleagues, you may as securely believe that these colleagues were Bishops as you may believe any article in your creed. I could prove this by an induction, if it were needful. I do hereby undertake to do it when G[ilbert] R[ule] or any man shall make it appear necessary to be done. But I think it is enough at present, that I dare challenge him, or any of his party, to produce so much as one single testimony, from any author of that age, in which a Presbyter is called a Bishop's colleague, or said to be a member of the Episcopal college.

XIX.—I do really grant indeed, that you will find our martyr calling presbyters, *priests*, *pastors*, *rulers*. He frequently calls them *com-presbyteri*, *i. e.* fellow-presbyters. So he calls Rogatianus one of the Carthaginian presbyters,[2] and Primitivus,[3] and Quintus,[4] and Lucianus.[5] Sometimes he bestows that compellation on many presbyters together,[6] but he never calls a Presbyter either *consacerdos* or *collega*. These titles, as well as *co-episcopus*, he allows only to Bishops. But what needs more? We find him frequently most manifestly, and as it were of set purpose, distinguishing between his colleagues and presbyters, as may appear sufficiently from the testimonies on the margin.[7] Now, before we proceed any further,

[1] Supra, cap. 3, sect. 23, &c.

[2] Ep. 7, p. 14.

[3] Ep. 44, p. 86. Ep. 48, p. 90.

[4] Ep. 55, p. 101.

[5] Ep. 71, p. 193.

[6] Ep. 14, p. 33. Ep. 45, p. 87. Ep. 71, p. 193.

[7] Sed et si qui de peregrinis *Episcopi Collegæ mei*, vel *presbyteri* vel *diacones* præsentes fuerint—Ep. 32, p. 65.

XX.—Let but these three things be laid together, 1. That by the principles of the Cyprianic Age, Bishops were believed to be successors to the Apostles in the Ecclesiastical sovereignty. 2. That they were raised to the Episcopal order by singular succession. And 3, That all Bishops so raised made one college—a college peculiar to themselves—a college whereof none were members but Bishops. And let any man of common sense and ordinary skill in such matters, determine whether it be likely that Bishops having such prerogatives, had only *more dignity*, but not *more power* than presbyters. Did the Apostles act in parity with single presbyters? Had they only more dignity, but not more power? And to what purpose so much stress laid on singular succession? Why this so strictly, so nicely, so carefully provided for? Why made so absolutely necessary for the preservation of unity—for avoiding the unwarrantable multiplication of churches? Why promotion in opposition to, or disagreement with the laws of it, loaded with all the black characters of "setting up altar against altar"—of "setting up false priests against true priests"—of constituting "adulterous heads," and "adulterous chairs" "sacrilegious sacrifices" and "detestable communions"? Why make it so manifest an argument of schism, or such a deadly thrust to schismatics? Why, for this, exclude them from being members of the Catholic Church—from being Christians? that is, from all hopes of pardon, from all interest in the Divine promises, from all expectations of Heaven? Why, I say, all these sad and dreadful characters and consequences, if there was no more in the matter than an invasion of bare dignity—than an usurpation of simple precedency, without any eye to power, to anything of substantial superiority? I

Accepi primas literas tuas —— quibus significasti—te—cum Cornelio *co-episcopo* nostro unum tenere consensum. Scripsisti etiam, ut exemplum earundem literarum ad Cornelium *Collegam* nostram transmitterem—— Sed enim supervenerunt postmodum aliæ literæ tuæ per Quintum *compresbyterum* missæ—Ep. 55, p. 101.

Quare in hunc scrupulum non inciderunt tot *co-episcopi Collegæ mei*—Ep. 66, p. 167.

De qua re quid nuper in Concilio plurimi *co-episcopi* cum *compresbyteris* qui aderant censuerimus——Nescio etenim qua præsumtione ducuntur quidam de *Collegis* nostris—Ep. 71, p. 193.

Nos quantum in nobis est, propter hæreticos cum *Collegis* et *co-episcopis* nostris non contendimus—Ep. 73, p. 210.

shall say no more, but that he, who can entertain such imaginations, must have very surprising ideas of the primitive times, and of the wisdom of the primitive Bishops.

XXI.—And why combine them into one college—a college peculiar to themselves—a college in which *none but Bishops* could be colleagues? Why this, I say, if all their preeminence was no more than that of bare dignity—than that they might have the first civilities, or the chief reverences paid them? Who can entertain such speculations who has bestowed so much as three thoughts about the nature of a college, or the notion of a colleague, in the Cyprianic, or rather in the true Roman dialect, from which St Cyprian and his contemporaries had those terms? What is more notorious than that those, and those only, could be colleagues, who enjoyed the same powers and the same prerogatives? Doth not A[ulus] Gellius tell us, from Messala's first book, "De Auspiciis," that though the Roman consuls, and prætors, and censors, had the Maxima Auspicia, yet they were not all indifferently colleagues, for this very reason, that they had not the same power, making parity of power thereby the very constituent of colleagues?[1] Indeed the very original of the word imports so much; for whether you resolve it into *con* and *lego* or *con* and *lex*, all comes to one purpose: if you resolve it the first way, then colleagues are those who have the same commission: if the second way, then those are colleagues who are bound by the same laws. Either way it manifestly imports parity of power. And yet in every college (for there were very many among the Romans) *e. g.* in the College of Augures, there was an imparity of dignity;—there was order—a first—a second—a third—&c. among the colleagues. And when they met to order any matter, *e. g.* to interpret any Auspicium (which could only be done by the college, not by any single augur) no man doubts but there was one who presided in the meeting, and performed the acts, and had the dignities of a moderator. It were easy to insist largely on this subject, but it is needless. All, therefore, I shall add

[1] Patriciorum auspicia in duas sunt potestates divisa; maxima sunt consulum, prætorum, censorum: neque tamen eorum omnium inter se eadem, aut *ejusdem potestatis*, ideoque *Collegæ* non sunt. A. Gell. Noct. Attic. Lib. 13, cap. 14.

at present shall only be to recommend to G[ilbert] R[ule] three of his own friends, Chamier, Salmasius, and Blondel, from whom he may receive further satisfaction concerning colleges and colleagues. Chamier had so just a notion of the true nature of a colleague, that he not only formed the Bishop of Rome's being so frequently and ordinarily called their colleague by other Bishops into an argument (and a solid one it is) against the Pope's supremacy, but also he affirms, that after the introduction of Episcopacy, Presbyters neither were, nor were called *colleagues* to Bishops, upon this very score, that they had not equal power with Bishops; and therefore he suspects the wording of the 35th Canon of the fourth Council of Carthage, which requires Bishops, in ordinary conversation, to treat Presbyters as colleagues. He suspects the wording of it, I say, and thinks it reasonable to believe that the Fathers who made the Canon used some other term, and that for this very reason, that to have made Presbyters colleagues to Bishops, had been to leave no imparity of power between them.[1] If I have tripped in anything of this account, let it be imputed to the weakness of my memory, for I have not the book by me at present. But I shall ask no such allowances concerning Salmasius and Blondel, for you have their own words faithfully transcribed on the margin.[2] The force of all this reasoning will still appear the greater, if we consider,

[1] Cathol Panstrat. Tom. 2, lib. 14, cap. 14, sect. 2, 9, 10, 12.

[2] Alius enim ordo est Presbyterorum, alius Episcoporum, postquam ex uno duofacti sunt. Qui sacramentem ordinis nobis condiderunt, hujus etiam opinionis fabri fuere, quæ non statuit diversum esse ordinem Presbyteri et Episcopi, quia non diversa nec alia ordinatione Presbyteri creantur ac Episcopi, nec alius eis imprimitur character sacerdotalis ex ordinatione, quam Episcopis. Sed ordo hoc sensu veteri Ecclesiæ et antiquis patribus prorsum incognitus. Singula distincta *corpora* suum *ordinem* fecerunt. Non *Collegæ* sunt Episcopi Presbyterorum post introductam *ordinum* distinctionem. Ergo in diverso *ordine* sunt utrique omnes, quippe *unius ordinis, Collegæ* inter se sunt, et *Collegium unum* constituunt. In singulis *ordinibus* etiam plures *gradus* sunt, primus, secundus, tertius. Qui etiam ordinis nomine plerumque appellantur. Nam inde *ordo* dictus est, quod *ordine gradus* locantur in unoquoque *collegio*. Wal. Messal. p. 464, 465.

——Ex quo distinctis cleri gradibus (quam distinctionem ævo Cyprianico obtinuisse supra habuimus agnoscentem Blondellum) diversa Episcoporum et Presbyterorum *collegia*.—Blond. Apol. pro Sent. Hieron. p. 162.

XXII.—IV. That in consequence of what hath been already insisted on, the Bishop of the Cyprianic Age had his peculiar *locus* and *gradus*, his place and degree, notoriously different from the place and degree of Presbyters. Thus, (to give only a taste of this prerogative), the crime of the insolent deacon, mentioned Ep. 3, was that being unmindful of the *locus*, the place or station, or eminent post of his Bishop, he had not paid him due regards.[1]—And how often doth our martyr, while in his retirement, tell those he wrote to, that his *place* did not allow him to return to his charge according to his inclinations? "I wish," says he, Ep. 12, "that the condition of my *place* and *degree* would allow that I myself might be present with you to order matters."[2] And Ep. 15, "the solicitude of my *place*, and the fear of God, compel me."[3] And Ep. 16, he makes it a mighty aggravation of the crime of those Carthaginian Presbyters, who presumed precipitantly to absolve the lapsers, that against the Bishop they stirred up the martyrs, those glorious servants of God, who otherwise would have paid suitable regards to his *place*,[4] that is, would have lived in a dutiful subjection to him, as is evident from the context. And Ep. 33, he tells the lapsers, that he should give them such an answer as might best become his *place* and *office* when they should give him more distinct accounts of their desires.[5] And Ep. 63, he tells Cæcilius, that the Christian religion and the fear of God, and the *place* and *priestly office* of Bishops, obliged them to adhere closely to the verity of Divine tradition, in having wine in the cup in the holy

[1] Quod immemor *sacerdotalis loci tui*——Ep. 3, p. 5.

[2] Atque utinam *loci* et *gradus*, mei conditio permitteret, ut *ipse* nunc præsens esse possem—Ep. 12, p. 27.

[3] Solicitudo *loci nostri* et timor Domini compellit——admonere vos—Ep. 15, p. 33.

[4] Exponunt deinde invidiæ beatos Martyres; et gloriosos servos Dei cum Dei sacerdote committunt, ut cum illi memores *loci nostri*—Ep. 16, p. 37.

[5] —Peto discernatis desideria vestra, et quicunque estis qui has literas nunc misistis, nomina vestra libello subjiciatis, et libellum cum singulorum nominibus ad me transmittatis; ante est enim scire quibus rescribere habeam: tunc ad singula quæ scripsistis pro *loci*, et *actus* nostri mediocritate rescribam—Ep. 33, p. 67.

eucharist.[1] And we have a remarkable testimony to this purpose, Ep. 74, where he tells Pompeius, that Bishops, as they would be "faithful to their *place*, ought to consider how they will be able to answer for it at the day of judgment, if they shall ratify baptisms administered by blasphemers."[2]—That is plainly, that by their *place*, their *post*, their *station*, they had the supreme power of the sacraments, as we shall afterward more fully learn. And as we have thus frequent mention made of the place or post of Bishops, so,

XXIII.—Our martyr divers times speaks of the *locus*, the place or post of Presbyters, as quite different from the place or post of Bishops. "What reason have we to be afraid of the wrath of God," says he, Epistle 16, "when some Presbyters, neither mindful of the Gospel, nor of *their own place*, nor thinking on the future judgment of God, nor on the *Bishop*, their *superior* for the time, are bold to assume all to themselves, to the contempt and reproach of their Bishop—a thing never heretofore attempted under any of my ancestors?"[3] G[ilbert] R[ule] I think, will have a hard pull of it to reduce this to bare dignity. Again, though he promoted Numidicus to the station of a Presbyter of Carthage, yet he promises that so soon as God shall permit, he shall be promoted *ad ampliorem locum*, to a higher station,[4] raised to a more eminent preferment: And what, I pray, could this be other than a Bishopric? Was St Cyprian at next year's, or half year's end, to resign his *moderatorial* chair to Numidicus? And when Maximus, the Roman Presbyter, deserted the interests of Novatianus, and returned

[1] Religioni igitur nostræ congruit et timori, et *ipsi loco* atque *officio sacerdotii* (*i. e.* Episcopatus) *nostri*, in Dominico calice miscendo et offerendo, custodire traditionis Dominicæ veritatem—Ep. 63, p. 157.

[2] Quo in loco considerandum est, frater carissime, pro fide et religione *sacerdotalis loci* quo fungimur, an constare sacerdotis Dei ratio in die judicii possit, asserentis et probantis — blasphemantium baptismata — Ep. 74, p. 214.

[3] Quod enim non periculum metuere debemus de offensa Domini; quando aliqui de Presbyteris, nec Evangelii, nec *loci sui* memores, sed neque futurum Domini judicium, neque nunc sibi *præpositum Episcopum* cogitantes—Ep. 16, p. 36.

[4] Et promovebitur quidem, cum Deus permiserit, ad *ampliorem locum* religionis suæ, quando in præsentiam protegente Domino venerimus —Ep. 40, p. 79.

to his duty to Cornelius, Cornelius (as himself tells our martyr, Epistle 49,) commanded him *to resume his own place; i. e.* he restored him to the exercise of the office of a Presbyter.[1] Near of kin to this is,

XXIV.—V. The prerogative of the *chair*, which, by the principles of that age, the Bishop had as a symbol of power as much as of dignity. He had his *cathedra*, I say his *chair*, his *throne*, as the Greeks call it—a throne or chair conspicuously elevated above the seats of all the Presbyters who sat with him, and peculiarly ornamented. So we learn from Pontius's account of the life of St Cyprian, where he observes that when St Cyprian, just before his martyrdom, was brought to the Prætorium, he was allowed, till the Proconsul came, to retire to an apartment, "where, by chance, there was a seat covered with a linen cloth—Providence having so ordered it, that instantly before his death he should have the honour of a Bishop."[2] Now,

XXV.—This chair, I say, is often mentioned as a symbol of power. Thus, in his book about the lapsers, our martyr complains, that "many Bishops, contemning the Divine Procuration, and deserting their chairs and their people, turned procurators of secular affairs."[3] And Epistle 3, he says Rogatianus, without consulting any man, might have punished his insolent "Deacon by the authority of his chair."[4] And Epistle 17, he complains of some Presbyters, that they did not reserve to himself their Bishop, "the honour of his chair and priesthood:"[5] That is, they presumed to evacuate his sovereign power in the discipline of the Church, by acting in a matter of such consequence as the reconciling of the lapsers was, without him. Indeed, Epistle 43, he makes the *chair* as much a symbol of power as the Bishop's being

[1] Quapropter Maximum Presbyterum *locum suum* agnoscere jussimus. —Ep. 49, p. 93.

[2] Sedile autem erat fortuito linteo tectum, ut et sub ictu passionis *Episcopatus* honore frueretur. St Cyp. vit. p. 9.

[3] Episcopi plurimi, quos et hortamento esse oportet cæteris et exemplo, divina procuratione contemta, procuratores rerum secularium fieri, derelicta *cathedra*, &c. p. 123.

[4] —— Cum pro Episcopatus vigore et *cathedræ* auctoritate haberes *potestatem*——Ep. 3, p. 5.

[5] Audio tamen quosdam de Presbyteris—nec Episcopo honorem sacerdotii sui et *cathedræ* reservantes——Ep. 17, p. 39.

head of the Church, and her principle of unity can amount to.[1] And Epistle 52, he makes Evaristus his being deprived of his *chair*, all one with his being deprived of his bishopric.[2] And Epistle 55, he justifies Cornelius his promotion to the Bishopric of Rome, upon this very score, that the *degree* of the *sacerdotal chair* was vacant when he was raised to it.[3] And a little after, he says that Cornelius sat courageously at Rome in his *sacerdotal chair* (he governed the Church as Bishop) at a time when the cruel tyrant Decius was a declared enemy to all Bishops—[4]

XXVI.—And hence (I mean from the Episcopal chair's being a symbol of the ecclesiastical sovereignty) it was, that when Novatianus pretended to be Bishop of Rome, St Cyprian expressed his usurpation by setting up an *adulterous chair*,[5] and for doing so, made him more criminal than Chore, Dathan, and Abiram.[6] Indeed, he makes his setting up *another chair*, one and the same thing with assuming a Primacy, and vindicating to himself a sovereign and independent power of the sacraments.[7] And in another place he resents it thus—"What reasoning is this, Novatianus doth so or so, therefore, we should not do so? What? shall we renounce our chairs (*i. e.* plainly our Episcopal sovereignty) because Novatianus usurps the honour of the *sacerdotal chair?*"[8] because he pretends to be a Bishop? In short, let any man consider St Cyprian's accounts of

[1] Deus unus est, et Christus unus, et una ecclesia, et *cathedra una* super Petrum Domini voce fundata. Aliud altare constitui aut sacerdotium novum fieri præter unum altare, et unum sacerdotium non potest. Ep. 43, p. 83.

[2] — Evaristum de Episcopo jam nec laicum remansisse, *cathedræ* et plebis extorrem. Ep. 52, p. 96.

[3] — Cum nemo ante se factus esset, cum Fabiani locus, *i. e.* cum locus Petri et *gradus cathedræ sacerdotalis vacaret*. Ep. 55, p. 104.

[4] — Sedisse intrepidum Romæ in *sacerdotali cathedra* eo tempore, cum tyrannus infestus *sacerdotibus Dei*, fanda atque infanda comminaretur, cum multo patientius et tolerabilius audiret, levari adversus se æmulum principem quam constitui Romæ *Dei sacerdotem*. *Ibid.* p. 104.

[5] Supra, sect. 16. (2)

[6] Ep. 69, p. 184.

[7] — *Cathedram* sibi constituere et primatum assumere, et baptizandi atque offerendi licentiam vindicare conantur. *Ibid.*

[8] Quale est autem, ut quia hoc Novatianus facere audet, nos putemus non esse faciendum? Quid ergo? quia et honorem *cathedræ sacerdotalis* Novatianus usurpat, num iccirio nos *cathedræ* renunciare debemus? Ep. 73, p. 199.

the *Episcopal chair*; how he always makes it a symbol of the high priesthood; that to usurp it was to usurp the high priesthood; that to forfeit it was to forfeit the high priesthood; that to set up *another chair*, in opposition to the *one chair*, to the *one Bishop's chair*, was to set up another altar, another communion, another Church, other sacraments, other sacrifices, &c. Let any man, I say, consider these things, and let him say if he can, that the *chair* was not a symbol of a majority of power as well as of dignity.

XXVII.—What hath been already discoursed might in all reason be enough to answer my design—to prove that by the principles of the Cyprianic Age, the Bishop had a majority of power, &c. Indeed, to muster up all his prerogatives, all the arguments deducible from those principles, would make a tedious work, *e. g.* how easy were it to prove by the plainest testimonies that he was father to, and had a paternal power over all the Christians, clergy and laity, within his district?[1] That he was *Papa*,[2] Pontifex,[3] Antistes or Prelate,[4] Doctor,[5] Dux or Chieftain,[6] Head,[7] Rector,[8] Signifer,[9] Physician, at least, in Chief,[10] Dispensator,[11] Procurator.[12] All these names and titles, and prerogatives, and many more such, he had appropriated to himself, as belonging to him in a more eminent sense than could agree to Presbyters. But I shall mention only a few more, which laid together, may for ever extinguish this controversy.

XXVIII.—VI. Then what more obvious in the Cyprianic mouuments than that by the then current principles, a Bishop was *Præpositus*, that is, *ruler* or *superior*, to all the clergy (Presbyters not excepted) as well as to the people? Nothing plainer than this in our martyr's congratulation to the Roman Presbyters and Deacons after the death of Fabianus. I cited a part of the testimony in my former book, but I did not translate it; I only said that St Cyprian "praised the Roman clergy for having the memory of Fabianus, who had been their *superior*, in so great honour."[13] "It is a mistake," says G[ilbert] R[ule] "he calleth him simply

[1] Ep. 41, p. 79. [2] Ep. 8, p. 15. Ep. 31, p. 61.
[3] Pont. Vit. Cyp. [4] Ep. 61, p. 144. Ep. 66, p. 167.
[5] Ep. 77, p. 234. [6] Ep. 60, p. 141. Ep. 61, p. 144.
[7] Ep. 45, p. 86. [8] Ep. 59, p. 133. Ep. 61, p. 144. Ep. 66, p. 169.
[9] Pont. Vit. Cyp. [10] De Lapsis, p. 128. Ep. 36, p. 70. Ep. 55, p. 107.
[11] Ep. 59, p. 129. Ep. 67, p. 173. [12] De Lapsis, p. 123. [13] P. 87.

præpositus, a title which," he says, " he has shewed was given to Presbyters as well as Bishops."[1] And true it is indeed, he had before been at pains to prove that Presbyters were sometimes called *præpositi*,[2] as if any man had ever denied it. For my part I do very readily grant it; but then I do affirm that the same title is sometimes allowed to Deacons. So that G[ilbert] R[ule when he casts up his accounts, if he does it accurately, is like to make but very small advantage of such an observation. Deacons, I say, are sometimes comprehended under the general name of *præpositi*. This will be evident to any who considers and compares the Epistles written by our martyr to his Presbyters and Deacons in the time of his retirement, particularly Ep. 15 and 16.[3] In short, most, if not all of the Epistles relating to the common concerns of the Church, written by him in those days of his secession, are directed not to his Presbyters but to his Presbyters and Deacons.[4] And who so seriously considers them, will find that Deacons as well as Presbyters were intrusted with a subordinate administration of discipline;[5] that they were *pastors*, if we may call them pastors, to whom the sheep were committed;[6] that they were said to *govern*,[7] to *rule*,[8] to be *over* the flock;[9] that they could absolve peni-

[1] Cyp. Bp. Exd. Sect. 56, p. 84. [2] Ibid. Sect. 39, p. 53.

[3] Ep. 15, p. 33. Sic scribit noster ad martyres—" Et credideram quidem Presbyteros et Diaconos, qui illic præsentes sunt, monere vos et instruere—Dein, paucis interjectis, hæc—" sed *Præpositorum* est præceptum tenere, et vel properantes, vel ignorantes instruere, ne qui ovium *pastores* esse debent, lanii fiant." p. 34. En tam Diaconos quam Presbyteros cum *præpositos* tum *pastores* appellatos! præsertim si consulamus, Ep. 16, p. 38, ubi sic noster—" si Martyres per calorem gloriæ scripturam minus contemplantes, contra legem Dei plus aliquid cuperent, a Presbyteris et Diaconis suggerentibus admoneri deberent—"

[4] Vide Ep. 5, 7, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18, 19, 26, 29, 32, 34, 38, 39, 40.

[5] Ep. 5. sic inscribitur—" *Cyprianus Presbyteris et Diaconibus fratribus carissimis*"—dein sic in epistola legitur—" quoniam mihi interesse nunc non permittit *loci* conditio; peto vos (tam Diaconos quam Presbyteros) pro fide et religione vestra, fungamini illic et vestris partibus et meis: ut nihil vel ad *disciplinam* vel ad *diligentiam* desit"—p. 10.

[6] Vos quidem (plebem alloquitur) nostri Presbyteri et Diaconi monere debuerant, ut commendatas sibi *oves* foverent et Divino magisterio ad viam deprecandæ salutis instruerent—Ep. 17, p. 29.

[7] — Ut Diaconi ad carcerem commeantes, Martyrum desideria consiliis suis et scripturarum præceptis *gubernarent*—Ep. 15, p. 33.

[8] — Doleo enim quando audio quosdam—nec, à Diaconis aut Presbyteris *regi* posse—Ep. 14, p. 32.

[9] Sed nunc illi rei non sunt, qui minus scripturæ legem tenent; erunt

tents, &c.[1] Briefly, they were all that time conjunct with the Presbyters in the ordinary acts of government. So it was also at Rome, as appears from the Epistles written by the Roman clergy to St Cyprian, and by St Cyprian to the Roman clergy.[2] But will it therefore follow that Deacons acted in parity with Presbyters? But if this will not follow, how will it follow that because Presbyters are sometimes called *præpositi*, therefore they acted in parity with Bishops? How easy is it to understand that there may be many præpositi, rulers, and yet one may be Præpositus to all the other præpositi? Now I do affirm that the Bishop was such a Præpositus; and I do affirm that the above-mentioned congratulation to the Roman Presbyters and Deacons, is a manifest demonstration of it. The matter, in short, is this:

XXIX.—Fabianus, Bishop of Rome, having died the glorious death of a martyr, the Roman Presbyters and Deacons by a letter give an honourable account of it to St Cyprian: And he begins his answer to them to this purpose.—"When the death of that good man my *Colleague* was uncertainly talked of here, I received yours, most dear brethren, by Clementius the Sub-deacon, whereby I was more fully informed of his glorious departure. And I do exceedingly rejoice in your behalf, that you do honour his memory with such a notable and illustrious testimony, and have made us know that, which is not only to us an example of faith and courage, but also to yourselves glorious, inasmuch as you honour the memory of your *superior*. For as the fall of a *superior* may be of dangerous influence, and occasion the fall of his *subjects*, so, on the other hand, it is as much profitable and encouraging when a *Bishop*, by the stability of his faith, sets himself a pattern to the brethren." You have our martyr's own words on the margin.[3] And if they do not

autem rei qui *præsunt*, et hæc fratribus non suggerunt, ut instructi à *Præpositis* faciant omnia cum Dei timore—Ep. 16, p. 37. En non solum dictum de Diaconis, quòd *præessent*, sed etiam rursus eosdem dictos *Præpositos!*

[1] —Vel si Presbyter repertus non fuerit, et urgere exitus cœperit, apud *Diaconum* quoque, *exomologesin faccre delicti sui* possint; ut manu eis in pœnitentia imposita veniant ad Dominum cum pace—Ep. 18, p. 40, 41.

[2] Vide Ep. 9, 20, 27, 30, 35, 36.

[3] "Cum de excessu boni viri *Collegæ mei* rumor apud nos incertus esset—

fairly, and not only fairly, but necessarily bear that Fabianus was *Præpositus*, superior to the Roman clergy, Presbyters as well as Deacons, let any man judge. So much, indeed, their superior he had been, that even themselves being witnesses, had he been alive, he could have ordered such and such matters, which, now that he was dead, could not be ordered till another succeeding to him, by the strictest laws of singular succession, bearing the same character which he had borne, and enabled with the same powers and prerogatives, which had enabled him while alive, should order them.[1] But this is not the only testimony by which the Bishop's being *Præpositus*, superior to Presbyters, may be demonstrated. You may find I cannot tell how many more, if you turn over the Cyprianic monuments. I shall only adduce some three or four, which may be sufficient to stop the mouth of impudence itself, *e. g.*

XXX.—Are not Bishops as *præpositi*, or superiors, most plainly contradistinguished from all the other clergy, and particularly from Presbyters and Deacons, in his 19th Epistle?[2] Is not the same notable distinction made again

accepi à vobis literas ad me missas per Clementium hypodiaconum, quibus plenissime de glorioso ejus exitu instruerer—in quo vobis quoque plurimum gratulor, quod ejus memoriam tam celebri et illustri testimonio prosequamini; ut per vos innotesceret nobis, quod et vobis esset circa *Præpositi* memoriam gloriosum, et nobis quoque fidei et virtutis præberet exemplum. Nam quantum perniciosa res est ad *sequentium* lapsum ruina *Præpositi*, in tantum contra utile est et salutare, cum se *Episcopus* per firmamentum fidei fratribus præbet imitandum." Ep. 9, p. 18, 19. Videsne Fabianum aperte Cypriani *Collegam* dictum? Videsne eundem dictum *Episcopum?* Fabianus ne Romanus fuerat Episcopus? *Præpositus* ne, proinde, non solum plebi, sed et Presbyteris et Diaconis, qui etiam inter *sequentes* numerandi?

[1] "Quanquam nobis differendæ hujus rei *necessitas* major incumbat, quibus, post excessum nobilissimæ memoriæ viri Fabiani, nondum est *Episcopus* propter rerum et temporum difficultates constitutus, qui omnia ista moderetur, et eorum, qui lapsi sunt, possit cum *auctoritate* et *consilio* habere rationem." Ep. 30, p. 58, 59. Rursus, p. 60,—"ante constitutionem *Episcopi* nihil innovandum putavimus, sed lapsorum curam mediocriter temperandam esse credidimus; ut interim dum *Episcopus* dari à Deo nobis sustinetur, in suspenso eorum qui moras possunt dilationis sustinere, causa teneatur"—Quid apertius hisce continetur testimoniis quam *Episcopum* adeo Presbyteris fuisse *præpositum*, adeo majori supra quam gauderent Presbyteri potestate fuisse gavisum, ut quæ illi nullo modo possent, penes ipsum esset disponere?

[2] Hoc enim et verecundiæ et disciplinæ et vitæ ipsi omnium nostrum convenit: ut *Præpositi* cum *clero* convenientes—Ep. 19, p. 41, 42.

by him, Ep. 20, written to the Roman Presbyters and Deacons? "I plainly commanded the causes of other lapsers (says he) to be delayed, and reserved till I myself might be present, that when the Lord shall send us peace, and many of us *Præpositi*, that is plainly Bishops, may meet, our resolutions being also communicated to you, we may order and reform things."—[1] And Ep. 13, written to Rogatianus, a Carthaginian Presbyter, and the rest of the confessors, he bespeaks them to this purpose: "What greater or better thing can I wish for, than to see the flock of Christ illuminated by the honour of your confession? For as it is the duty of all the brethren to rejoice on this account, so particularly the Bishop's portion of the common joy is greater, in as much as the glory of the Church is the *superior's* glory."[2] Have we not here the Bishop most evidently represented as a singular *superior?* And what do you think of our martyr's 16th Epistle written to his Presbyters and Deacons? Some Presbyters, without his allowance, had presumed to absolve some lapsers, and admit them to the sacrament. How keenly does he resent this? And resenting it, how irresistibly does he assert the Bishop's being *superior* to Presbyters? "What reason have we to be afraid of the wrath of God," says he, "when some *Presbyters*, neither mindful of their own *station*, nor regardful of the *Bishop*, *their superior* for the time, are bold to assume all to themselves to the reproach and contempt of their *superior*, a thing never heretofore attempted under any of my predecessors?" G[ilbert R[ule] may as wisely attempt to swallow mountains, or drink up the ocean, as to elude the force, or obscure the evidence of the testimony as ye have it on the margin.[3] Once more, it is certain St

[1] Planè cæterorum causas——differi mandavi; et in nostram præsentiam reservari; ut cum pace á Domino nobis data, plures *Præpositi* convenire in unum cœperimus, communicato etiam *vobiscum* consilio disponere singula et reformare possimus. Ep. 20, p. 43, 44.

[2] Quid enim vel majus in votis meis potest esse, vel melius, quam cum video confessionis vestræ honore illuminatum gregem Christi? nam cum gaudere in hoc omnes fratres oportet, tum in gaudio communi major est *Episcopi portio*. Ecclesiæ enim gloria *Præpositi* gloria est. Ep. 13, p. 28.

[3] Quod enim non periculum metuere debemus de offensa Domini: quando aliqui de *Presbyteris*, nec Evangelii nec *loci sui* memores, sed neque

Cyprian levelled against the same presumptuous Presbyters in his excellent discourse De Zelo and Livore, and particularly in that notable passage which you have on the margin,[1] and runs thus in Scottish as near as I can translate it. "The breach of the bond of our Lord's peace, the violation of brotherly love, the adulteration of the truth, the cutting of unity, the breaking out into heresies and schisms; all these do hence proceed, that the *priests* are disparaged, that the *bishops* are envied (here is another instance of equivalent phrases) when any man is angry that himself was not rather ordained, and cannot endure to have another his *superior*." It had been easy, as I have said, to have adduced many more testimonies to this purpose, but these may satisfy any man who is capable of satisfaction. I proceed,

XXXI.—VII. By the principles of the Cyprianic age, the Bishop was *gubernator*, *i. e.* steersman of the ship of the Church. He sat at the helm, and managed the *gubernaculum*. The Roman Presbyters and Deacons do prettily insist on this metaphor, Ep. 30.[2] They praise St Cyprian, that all along, especially in the difficult case of the lapsers, he had steered with a steady hand, and they exhort and encourage him to continue in the prosecution of such measures. And St Cyprian tells Pomponius, Epistle 4, that the ship (the Church whereof he was Bishop) must be watch-

futurum Domini judicium, neque nunc sibi *præpositum Episcopum* cogitantes, quod nunquam omnino sub antecessoribus factum est, cum contumelia et contemtu *Præpositi* totum sibi vindicent? Ep. 16, p. 36.

[1] Hinc Dominicæ pacis vinculum rumpitur, hinc caritas fraterna violatur, hinc adulteratur veritas, unitas scinditur, ad hæreses atque ad schismata prosilitur; dum obtrectatur *sacerdotibus*, dum *Episcopis* invidetur, cum quis aut queritur non se potius ordinatum, aut dedignatur alterum ferre *Præpositum*. Hinc recalcitrat, hinc rebellat de zelo superbus, de æmulatione perversus; animositate et livore, non *hominis*, sed *honoris* inimicus. De Zelo et Livore, p. 223.

[2] Quid enim magis aut in pace tam aptum, aut in bellis persecutionis tam necessarium, quam debitam severitatem Divini vigoris tenere? quam qui remiserit, instabili rerum cursu erret semper necesse est, et huc atque illuc variis et incertis negotiorum tempestatibus dissipetur, et quasi extorto de manibus consiliorum *gubernaculo*, navem Ecclesiasticæ salutis illidat in scopulos: ut appareat non aliter saluti Ecclesiasticæ consuli posse, nisi si qui et contra ipsam faciunt; quasi quidam adversi fluctus repellantur, et disciplinæ ipsius semper custodita ratio, quasi salutare aliquod *gubernaculum* in tempestate servetur. Ep. 30, p. 56.

fully guided by him, that she be not dashed in pieces upon the rocks—[1] And again to Cornelius, Ep. 59, that Satan's design in tempting men to turn schismatics and anti-bishops is, that the true *steersman* (the true Bishop) being removed, the Church may be shipwrecked.[2] And Epist. 61, he expresses great joy that Lucius, Bishop of Rome, was safely returned to his station, seeing thereby the *pastor* was restored to his *flock*, the *steersman* to the *ship*, and the *ruler* to the *people*.[3] And Epist. 66, he makes it unaccountable in Florentius Pupianus that he should have called in question his Episcopal authority, seeing to do so was in effect to say that for six years the Church had no *steersman*.[4] I do not know what an idea G[ilbert] R[ule] may have of his beloved parity, but I doubt much it would not do well in a ship. I believe it has not been often tried there. I believe even the Dutch themselves, as much as they may be for democracy on dry land, do yet allow of monarchy in every ship while she is at sea. But to forbear such excursions, though divers other testimonies might be adduced to our purpose, yet these may be sufficient to shew that in St Cyprian's time a *Bishop in a Church* was the same that the *master is in a ship*, and by consequence, that he had not only more *dignity*, but also more *power* than any other person in it. Near of kin to this it is,

XXXII.—VIII. That by the principles of that Age, Bishops, as making a distinct order from Presbyters, had in their hands the *balance* of government to be managed at their discretion; they were the governors who *weighed* matters, and *pondered* counsels, adjusted expedients, and adapted rules, and orders, and measures to the Church's exigencies.

[1] Liberanda est vigilanter de periculosis locis *navis*, ne inter scopulos et saxa frangatur. Ep. 4, p. 8.

[2] —Apparet quis impugnet——Non scilicet Christus qui *sacerdotes* aut constituit aut protegit; sed ille, qui Christi adversarius, et Ecclesiæ ejus inimicus, ad hoc Ecclesiæ *Præpositum* sua infestatione persequitur, ut *gubernatore* sublato, atrocius atque violentius circa Ecclesiæ naufragia grassetur. Ep. 59, p. 130.

[3] —Sed et nunc non minus tibi et comitibus tuis atque universæ fraternitati gratulamur, quod cum eadem gloria et laudibus vestris reduces vos denuo ad suos fecerit benigna Domini et larga protectio: ut pascendo *gregi pastor*, et *gubernandæ navi gubernator*, et *plebi* regendæ *rector* redderetur—Ep. 61, p. 144.

[4] Vide Supra, sect. VII.

So we read in many places, particularly those quoted in the margin.[1] But of this more fully hereafter.[2] I hope I need not be at pains to show that this prerogative is an argument of more power in Bishops, as well as more dignity.

XXXIII.—IX. Nothing plainer in the Cyprianic monuments than that the Bishop, as such, was the *High Priest*. I shall readily grant that Presbyters were also called Priests. But nothing more obvious, almost in every page, than that the Bishop was *Sacerdos*, Priest by way of eminence. No name more frequently given him—given him frequently with distinguishing additions. Sometimes he is called *Sacerdos Dei*, the Priest of God.[3] Sometimes *Sacerdos Domini*, the Priest of our Lord.[4] And his office is called *Sacerdotium*, the Priesthood, and *Sacerdotium Dei*, God's Priesthood.[5] In short, it was a singular Priesthood. There could not be two such Priests or Priesthoods at once in any one Church; that is, in any one city, with its territory, how populous soever, and yet there might have been very many subordinate Priests and Priesthoods, as many as there were Presbyters, than which there cannot be a clearer demonstration that the Bishop was the *High Priest*, and his office the *High Priesthood*. Indeed, by the then current principles (as I have elsewhere fully proved),[6] the Bishop was as much the

[1] "De eo tamen quod statuendum esset circa causam lapsorum distuli; ut cum quies et tranquillitas data esset, et *episcopis* in unum convenire indulgentia Divina permitteret; tunc communicato et *librato* de omnium Episcoporum qui convenirent) collatione consilio, *statueremus* quod fieri operteret"——Et paulo post, "in unum" (Episcopi, hoc enim totius orationis ratio postulet) "convenimus, et Scripturis diu ex utraque parte prolatis, *temperamentum salubri moderatione libravimus*."—Ep. 55. p. 102.

Cyprianus et cæteri Collegæ qui in concilio affuerant numero 66—"*librato* apud se diu *consilio*, satis esse" aiunt "objurgare Therapium."—Ep. 64, p. 158.

Cui rei nostrum (Episcoporum) est consulere et subvenire frater carissime (Stephanum alloquitur noster Episcopum scilicet Romanum) qui Divinam clementiam cogitantes, et *gubernandæ Ecclesiæ libram tenentes*, sic censuram vigoris peccatoribus exhibemus, ut tamen lapsis erigendis, et curandis vulneratis, bonitatis et misericordiæ Divinæ medicinam non denegemus. Ep. 68, p. 176, 177.

[2] Vide infra, chap. VII.

[3] Ep. 3, p. 7. Ep. 15, p. 33. Ep. 16, p. 37.

[4] Ep. 43, p. 82. Ep. 64, p. 158. Ep. 66, p. 165.

[5] Ep. 43, p. 82.

[6] Prin. Cyp. Age, p. 44, &c.

High Priest in his own district, as Aaron and his successors were in Jewry. And how zealously, how keenly, how frequently doth St Cyprian in his reasonings against the schismatics of his time, insist on the *one priest*, and the *one priesthood*, and the *one altar?* I have given a sufficient specimen of such reasonings on the margin.[1] And what less can be necessarily imported by them than that by the

[1] An esse sibi cum Christo videtur, qui adversus *sacerdotes Christi* facit? qui se â cleri ejus et plebis societate secernit? Arma ille contra Ecclesiam portat, contra Dei dispositionem repugnat: *hostis altaris*, adversus sacrificium Christi rebellis, pro fide perfidus, pro religione sacrilegus, in obsequens servus, filius impius, frater inimicus, contemtis *episcopis* et *Dei sacerdotibus* derelictis constituere audet *aliud altare*, precem *alteram* illicitis vocibus facere, Dominicæ hostiæ veritatem per *falsa sacrificia* profanare. De Unit. Eccl. p. 116.

Hæc sunt enim initia hæreticorum, et ortus utque conatus schismaticorum male cogitantium, ut sibi placeant, et *Præpositum* superbo tumore contemnant. Sic de Ecclesia receditur, sic *altare profanum foris* collocatur, sic contra pacem Christi et ordinationem atque unitatem Dei rebellatur. Ep. 3 p. 6.

Deus *unus* est, et Christus *unus*, *et una* ecclesia, et cathedra *una* super Petrum Domini voce fundata. *Aliud altare* constitui, aut *novum sacerdotium* fieri præter *unum altare*, *et unum sacerdotium* non potest. Ep. 43, p. 83.

Et cum ad nos in Africam legatos misisset (*Novatianus*) optans ad communicationem nostram admitti, hinc à concilio plurimorum *sacerdotum* (*i.e.* episcoporum) qui præsentes eramus sententiam retulerit; se *foris* esse cœpisse, nec posse à quoquam nostrum sibi communicari, qui *Episcopo* Cornelio in Catholica Ecclesia de Dei judicio et cleri ac plebis suffragio ordinato, *profanum altare* erigere, et adulteram cathedram collocare, et *sacrilega* contra *verum sacerdotem sacrificia* offerre tentaverit. Ep. 68, p. 177.

Si autem qui Ecclesiam contemnunt, ethnici et publicani habentur; multo magis utique rebelles et hostes, *falsa altaria*, *et illicita sacerdotia*, et nomina adulterata fingentes, inter ethnicos et publicanos necesse est computentur. Ep. 69, p. 180, 181.

Addimus plane et adjungimus, frater carissime, consensu et auctoritate communi, ut etiam si qui Presbyteri aut Diaconi, qui vel in ecclesia catholica prius ordinati fuerint, et post modum perfidi ac rebelles contra Ecclesiam steterint, vel apud hæreticos á pseudoepiscopis et Antichristis contra Christi dispositionem profana ordinatione promoti sint, et contra *altare unum* atque divinum, sacrificia *foris* falsa ac sacrilega offerre conati sint; eos quoque hac conditione suscipi cum revertuntur, ut communicent laici—— Ep. 72. p. 197.

Eadem, iisdemque nixa principiis, planissime Firmilianus.—"Hostes autem unius Ecclesiæ Catholicæ in qua nos sumus, *et adversarii nostri* qui *Apostolis successimus*, *sacerdotia* sibi *illicita* contra nos vindicantes, *et altaria profana* ponentes; quid aliud sunt quam Chore, Dathan, et Abiron, pari scelere sacrilegi" —— Hæc, inquam, ille, Ep. 75, p. 225. Plura huc facientia testimonia huic cumulo adjecisse facillimum fuisset, sed in re tam liquida quid pluribus opus?

then current principles, there could be but *one priest* in *chief*, and *one priesthood* in *chief*, and *one altar* in *chief?* And that there could be no lawful, no hallowed *priests*, nor *priesthoods*, nor *altars*, in any one particular church or city, but such as were subordinate and dependent on the *one chief priest*, and the *one chief priesthood*, and the *one chief altar?*

XXXIV.—When St Cyprian so frequently called the Bishop the priest, the priest of God, the priest of our Lord, the one priest, &c., when he insisted so zealously on the one altar, and the one priesthood, who can doubt whether he meant the same thing with his master Tertullian, who calls the Bishop, in express terms, *summus sacerdos*, the highest priest? Who can doubt, I say, that the Bishop was the same *priest* to St Cyprian that he was to Tertullian? But to Tertullian he was so much the *chief priest*, that the Presbyters, or inferior priests, could, no more than Deacons, baptize without his allowance, which is either an argument of more power, or we must yet be to seek what more power can be. It is true G[ilbert R[ule] has endeavoured to elude the force of Tertullian's testimony by very surprising glosses,[1] but they are not worth the reciting; and the principal one I shall have occasion afterward to consider.[2] And therefore, at present, it is enough to tell him that Tertullian's words are so plain, that no glosses can obscure them. So very plain, that Blondel, Salmasius, Dallæus, Junius, Rivetus, Leidecker, &c. in short, all the learned Presbyterians I have had occasion to see, have ever understood them as undeniably importing a majority of power in the days of Tertullian.[3] Never author, so far as I have observed, before G[ilbert] R[ule], attempted to reconcile them with the Presbyterian scheme, or make them consistent with the principles of parity. No author will ever attempt it, who has not resolved to run the risk of his reputation, by flying in the face of common sense; for however obscure or rugged in other places Tertullian's style may be, yet nothing plainer, smoother, easier, than the testimony we are now concerned about. You have it here again on the mar-

[1] Cyp. B. Exam. p. 72. [2] Infra, cap. VIII, sect. I, II, &c.
[3] Supra, cap. 3, fusè.

gin ;[1] and in it these things as clear as the mid-day sun. 1. That in Tertullian's time the Bishop was the *High Priest.* 2. That as such he had the chief power of baptism ; he had it so much, 3. That neither Presbyter nor Deacon could baptize without his allowance. Can they ever gain credit with men of common discretion or common ingenuity, whose obstinacy prompts them to resist evidence so very bright and powerful, or to intricate language so very plain and peremptory ?

XXXV.—And what else can be the true meaning of the *sublime sacerdotii fastigium* mentioned by St Cyprian, Ep. 55, than the Episcopal *high priesthood?* I had only mentioned this phrase before, and G[ilbert]R[ule] says he cannot find it. Now I do tell him he may find it in that most notable epistle written to Antonianus, the 52d according to Pamelius's numbers. And if G[ilbert] R[ule] will be pleased to consider the whole period, as it is here on the margin,[2] I hope he will not be so wilful as not to acknowledge all I did before, and do now adduce it for. That which commends Cornelius, says our martyr, is, " that he did not come suddenly to the bishopric of Rome, but that having first gone through all inferior ecclesiastical offices, and having often served our Lord faithfully in Divine administrations, he ascended by all the steps of his religion to the *high top of the Priesthood.*" That is, he was not promoted per saltum, as they call it, but had regularly ascended through all the inferior orders, had been an Acolyth, an Exorcist, &c., and at last a Presbyter, (at least nine or ten years, even by Blondel's reckoning) before he was made a Bishop. This is evidently the true sense of the place ; and it is the true meaning of the *amplior locus* mentioned before.[3] And it is most appositely glossed, (if I may so say,) by Optatus Melevitanus in his first book against Parmenianus,

[1] Superest ad concludendam materiolam, de observatione quoque dandi et accipiendi baptismum commone facere. Dandi quidem habet jus *summus Sacerdos,* qui est *Episcopus : Dehinc* Presbyteri et Diaconi : Non tamen sine *Episcopi auctoritate*—Tert. de Bapt. cap. 17.

[2] Nam quod Cornelium carissimum nostrum Deo et Christo et Ecclesiæ ejus item consacerdotibus cunctis commendat ; non iste ad *Episcopatum submito pervenit sed per omnia officia Ecclesiastica promotus,* et in Divinis administrationibus Dominum sæpe promeritus, ad *sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis* religionis *gradibus ascendit.* Ep. 55, p. 103.

[3] Supra, sect. 23, not. [4].

the Donatist, as you may see on the margin.[1] Or, if Optatus shall be rejected as none of St Cyprian's contemporaries, (though G[ilbert] R[ule] was so learned as to make him one of them) then hear Origen, one of his undoubted contemporaries, (though G[ilbert] R[ule] makes him none of them,) "more will be required of me (a Presbyter, for such he was when he wrote this,) than of a Deacon—more of a Deacon than of a laick. But he has most to account for, who has the ecclesiastical principality over us all," (or, who keeps the castle of the Church, as St Jerome comparing the Church to a city, and the Episcopal office to the castle that commands the city, translates it) *i. e.* the Bishop.[2]

XXXVI.—X. By the Cyprianic principles, the Bishop was *pastor* in *chief:* pastor by way of eminence, and in a sense peculiar to himself. Presbyters, I do readily confess, were likewise called pastors; but so were Deacons, as I have already shewn.[3] Presbyters and Deacons were both called pastors, as magistrates are called gods, Psal. 82, 1, 6, or Christ's messengers, saviours, Obad. 21; 1 Tim. 4, 16; James 5, 20: that is, they were only subordinate pastors, pastors dependent on the Bishop, who was pastor in chief. And here I might insist largely, for nothing more frequently insisted on, or more fully and pointedly discoursed in the Cyprianic monuments; but, for brevity, I shall only propose three things at present to my reader's observation.

XXXVII.—I. The whole people, the *plebs*, all the Christians within such a district, such a city and its territory, were committed to the Bishop to be ruled by them as their *pastor*, as to one who was to *oversee* them, to *feed* them, to *take care of* them, to *preserve them from wolves*, &c. and to *answer for them*. Nothing more obvious than this in the Cyprianic monuments. I have given you only a few testi-

[1] Quid commemorem laicos, qui tunc in Ecclesia, nulla fuerant dignitate suffulti? Quid ministros plurimos? Quid Diaconos in *tertio?* Quid Presbyteros in *secundo sacerdotio* constitutos? *Ipsi apices et principes omnium*, aliqui *Episcopi*, illis temporibus, ut damno æternæ vitæ, istius incertæ lucis moras brevissimas compararent, instrumenta Divinæ Legis impie tradiderunt. Optat. lib. 1, fol. 6. Edit. Paris, anno 1569. [Biblioth. Vet. Pat. Tom. 4, p. 344.—E.]

[2] Πλεῖον ἐγω ἀπαιτοῦμαι παρὰ τὸν Διάκονον; πλεῖον ὁ Διάκονος παρὰ τὸν Λαικὸν; ὁ δε των πάντων ἡμων ἐγκεχειρισμένος ΑΡΧΗΝ αὐτὴν τὴν Ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀπαιτεῖται. Origen. Hom. xi. in Jerem. Ed. Ben. p. 189.

[3] Supra, sect. 28.[3]

monies on the margin.[1] Indeed, St Cyprian's definition of a Church is, "a people united to their *priest*, and a *flock* adhering to their *pastor:*" that is, their Bishop, as appears from the context.[2] Now, from this it follows unavoidably that a Bishop then was some other thing than a Presbyterian moderator, seeing a Presbyterian moderator has no proper, immediate, direct relation to the people, but only to the Presbytery; nay, without the least shadow of a contradiction to the true Scottish Presbyterian scheme, one may be a moderator of a Presbytery who is no pastor at all, who has no power, no commission to feed, with either word or sacraments. For what is there in the Presbyterian scheme that can hinder a ruling elder from being the moderator of a Presbytery?

[1] Doleo, fratres, doleo vobiscum, nec mihi ad leniendos dolores meos integritas propria, et sanitas privata blanditur; quando plus *pastor* in *gregis* sui vulnere vulneretur. De Laps. p. 123.

Optaveram quidem, fratres carissimi, (Presbyteros suos et Diaconos alloquitur) ut universum Clerum nostrum integrum et incolumem meis literis salutarem: sed quoniam infesta tempestas, quæ *plebem nostram* ex maxima parte prostravit, hunc quoque addidit nostris doloribus cumulum, ut etiam Cleri portionem perstringeret——Ep. 14, p. 31.

Ego *plebis* nostræ et quietem novi pariter et timorem——Ep. 17, p. 39.

Vos orationibus frequenter insistite, ut Domini misericordia favens nobis, cito *plebi suæ et sacerdotem* reddat incolumem——Ep. 38, p. 75.

—— Cum Episcopo portionem *plebis* dividere——Ep. 41, p. 79.

—— Contra *sacerdotium Dei* portionem ruptæ fraternitatis armare—— Ep. 43, p. 82.

—— "Evaristum—Succensorem *plebi*, cui antea præfuerat, Zetum in locum ejus Episcopum esse constitutum." Ep. 50, p. 94, et legimus eundem Evaristum "*cathedræ et plebis* factum esse extorrem." Ep. 52, p. 96.

Plebem sibi de Divina dignatione commissam esse pronunciant plurimi Episcopi, Ep. 57, p. 117, et rursus, *ibid.* p. 118—"Nonne nobis vel negligentia segnis, vel duritia crudelis adscribetur in die judicii; quod *pastores* creditas et commissas *nobis* (Episcopis) *oves* nec curare in pace, nec in acie voluerimus armare?"

Sed quoniam—longe istinc excurrere et diu à *plebe*, cui de Divina indulgentia præsumus, abesse non datur facultas——Ep. 58, p. 120.

Cæterum (dico enim provocatus, &c.) quando Episcopus in locum defuncti substituitur, quando *populi universi* suffragio in pace deligitur, quando Dei auxilio in persecutione protegitur, *Collegis* omnibus fideliter junctus; *plebi suæ*, in *Episcopatu* quadriennio jam probatus——Ep. 59, p. 130. Vide plura *ibid.* p. 132, imo passim.

[2] —— Illi (Christo) sunt Ecclesia *plebs sacerdoti* adunata, et *pastori suo grex* adhærens. Unde scire debes *Episcopum* in Ecclesia esse, et Ecclesiam in *Episcopo;* et si qui cum *Episcopo* non sint, in Ecclesia non esse. Ep. 66. p. 168.

XXXVIII.—II. They were committed to him as their *pastor*, (by necessary consequence their *pastor* in *chief*,) even in populous Churches, where there were many Presbyters, many subordinate pastors. Thus, there were many Presbyters in Carthage ; yet Cyprian always speaks of himself as the *pastor*, and all the Christians in that great city as his *flock*. Particularly, he condemns Felicissimus and his party (and for any thing we have upon record, the major part of the Presbyters of Carthage were of that party), for dividing a portion of the people from himself their Bishop, as thereby separating the *sheep* from their *pastor*, the *children* from their *father*, and Christ's members one from another.[1] And Epistle 43, he exhorts his people to avoid the same Felicissimus, and those his complices, as wolves who separate the *sheep* from their *shepherd*.[2] And, as hath been already observed, he makes it unaccountable in Florentius Pupianus, that he should have called his Episcopal authority in question, seeing it was as much as to say that the *flock* (all the Christians in Carthage) for six years had wanted a pastor.[3]

XXXIX.—There were likewise many Presbyters at Rome, (forty-six as Cornelius tells us) yet the Bishop was the *pastor* of the whole *flock*, of all the Christians in that most populous city. Thus, Cornelius was so much the *one pastor*, that Novatianus, by pretending to be Bishop, forfeited all title to be either *sheep* or *shepherd*. St Cyprian's reasonings to this purpose are so considerable, that I cannot forbear to lay them before the reader. "Our Lord," says he, recommending to us the unity which proceeds from Divine authority, saith, "I AND MY FATHER ARE ONE." And again, to

[1] Vehementer contristatus sum, fratres carissimi, acceptis vestris literis, ut cum mihi propositum semper et votum sit, universam fraternitatem nostram incolumem continere, et illibatum *gregem*, secundum quod caritas exigit, reservare ; nunc nuncietis Felicissimum—nunc quoque cum *Episcopo* portionem plebis dividere, id est, à *pastore oves*, et *filios* à *parente* separare et Christi membra dissipare tentaverit. Ep. 41. p. 79.

[2] Nemo vos, fratres, errare à Domini viis faciat ; Nemo vos Christianos ab Evangelio Christi rapiat: Nemo filios Ecclesiæ de Ecclesia tollat: Pereant sibi soli, qui perire voluerunt. Extra Ecclesiam soli remaneant, qui de Ecclesia recesserunt. Soli cum *Episcopis* non sint, qui contra *Episcopos* rebellarunt——Discedite à talibus, quæso vos, et acquiescite consiliis nostris ——Vitate lupos, qui *oves* à *pastore* secernunt—Ep. 43. p. 84.

[3] Vide supra, sect. 7. (1)

oblige all Christians to preserve this unity, he saith, "THERE SHALL BE ONE FLOCK AND ONE PASTOR." But if the *flock* is *one*, how can he be reckoned of the *flock* who is not numbered with the *flock?* Or how can he be deemed a *pastor*, who, while the *true pastor* lives and rules the *flock* in an orderly succession, succeeds to none, but begins from himself? Such a one is an alien, is profane, is an enemy to Christian peace and unity. He dwells not in the House of God, that is, in the Church of God: None can dwell there but such as are concordant and unanimous.[1] Which reasoning cannot amount to less than this, that how numerous soever the *flock* (*i. e.* the whole body of Christians of any particular Church, even Rome itself) was, whatever was the number of subordinate *pastors*, yet there could be but *one pastor*, having such a peculiar relation to all the Christians of that Church as could constitute them *one flock;* that is, *one pastor* in *chief.* To the same purpose, and on the same principles, and probably against the same Novatianus, he reasons again in his excellent discourse of the "Unity of the Church." "Who is so wicked," says he, "so perfidious, and so bemadded with the fury of discord, as to think it lawful, or to dare to divide the unity of God? the garment of our Lord? the Church of Christ? Our Lord warns and teaches us in the Gospel, saying, and THERE SHALL BE ONE FLOCK, AND ONE PASTOR; who then can imagine, that in *one place*, (in one city, one particular Church,) there can be either *many pastors* or *more flocks?*"[2] Is not this most plainly, that by the then current principles, there could be but *one pastor* in *chief*? One peerless shepherd, in any one Church or city, with its territories, whatever might be the

[1] — Iccirco Dominus insinuans nobis unitatem de Divina auctoritate venientem ponit et dicit: EGO ET PATER UNUM SUMUS; ad quam unitatem redigens Ecclesiam suam, denuo dicit; ET ERIT UNUS GREX ET UNUS PASTOR. Si autem *grex* unus est, quomodo potest *gregi* annumerari, qui in numero *gregis* non est? aut *pastor* haberi quomodo potest, qui (manente *vero pastore* et in Ecclesia Dei ordinatione succedanea præsidente) nemini succedens, et à seipso incipiens, alienus fit et profanus, Dominicæ *pacis* ac Divinæ unitatis inimicus; non habitans in domo Dei, *i. e.* in Ecclesia Dei in qua non nisi concordes atque unanimes habitant?—Ep. 69. p. 182.

[2] Quis ergo sic est sceleratus et perfidus, quis sic discordiæ furore vesanus, ut aut credat scindi posse, aut audeat scindere unitatem Dei? vestem Domini? Ecclesiam Christi? Monet ipse in Evangelio suo et docet dicens—ET ERIT UNUS GREX ET UNUS PASTOR. Et esse posse *uno* in *loco* (Romæ, nimirum, Alexandriæ, Antiochiæ, Carthagini, &c.) aliquis existimet, aut *multos pastores*, aut *plures greges*? De Unit. Eccl. p. 110.

number of inferior shepherds? Again, in the same book, comparing a lapser and a schismatical Bishop (such as Novatianus was) he makes the latter worse than the former. Why? "The lapser," says he, "is sensible that he has sinned, and he mourns for it; but the schismatic, proud of his sin, and delighting in his wickedness, separates the children from their mother (the Church), entices the *sheep* to forsake the *shepherd*, and disturbs the divine ordinances.[1]" And (as has been already observed) he makes Lucius, Bishop of Rome, not only master of the ship, and rector of the people, but also *pastor* of the *flock*, of all the Christians in that most populous city.[2] Nor was this peculiar to Rome or Carthage, it was so all the world over, as might easily be proved, if it were needful.

XL—III. Now, with whatsoever force the preceding testimonies and reasonings do prove that in every Church there was *one pastor* in *chief*, with the same they prove that he was *chief* in *power*, as well as in *dignity*. Indeed, a *chieftry* of bare dignity can never bear such reasonings. What can be more silly, or more childish, than to say every Church made one *flock*, because there was but one *pastor* in it, who had the door of the rest, or was the mouth of the meeting, or so? On the other hand, nothing more solid than to infer that every Church made one flock, from its being subject to one pastor, who had the sovereign, the chief power of government. In short, you may as soon expect to reconcile G[ilbert] R[ule] and me as to point of principle concerning church government, as you can reconcile the aforesaid testimonies with a bare majority of dignity. For instance, let us take the very last, the address to Lucius, Bishop of Rome, and consider how it runs. "We did lately rejoice in your behalf, (says our martyr to him,) dear brother, when, by the Divine vouchsafement, you was duly honoured by being made both a confessor and a Bishop. And now we do as much rejoice in the behalf of thee and thy companions, and the whole fraternity, that the bountiful and ample protection of our Lord has restored you to your people without

[1] Certe peccasse se hic (lapsus) et intelligit, et lamentatur et plangit. Ille (schismaticus pseudoepiscopus) tumens in peccato suo, et in ipsis sibi delictis placens, à matre filios segregat, *oves* à *pastore* solicitat, Dei sacramenta disturbat. De Unit. Eccl. p. 117.

[2] Vide supra, sect. 31. Et statim, infra, sect. 40.

any diminution of your glory or praise; for so thou, who art the *pastor*, art restored to the *flock;* thou, who art the *steersman*, art restored to the *ship;* and thou, who art the *rector*, art restored to the *people*; and it appears that thy banishment has been so over-ruled by God as that the result should be, not that by thy banishment the Church should want a Bishop, but that the Bishop should return to the Church greater after being banished."[1] What were it but to upbraid my reader with want of common sense, if I were to go about laboriously to show that this testimony must needs import another kind of majority lodged in the Bishop's person, than that of bare dignity? Neither is this all, there are innumerable other passages in St Cyprian which do farther ascribe a majority of power to the Bishop, as being the *one pastor*. For example, as being the *one pastor*, he had a portion of the *flock*, the Catholic Church, all that portion of it which was comprehended within the bounds of any one city however populous, and its territory assigned to him, to be ruled and governed by him, being answerable to God alone for his administrations.[2] As the *one pastor*, he had the power of excluding the scabbed and infected sheep from the flock.[3] And as the *one pastor*, he had the power of restoring to the society of the flock, to the peace and privileges of the Church, all professing to be sincere penitents.[4]

[1] Et nuper quidem tibi, frater carissime, gratulati sumus, cum te honore geminato in Ecclesiæ suæ administratione Confessorem pariter et *Sacerdotem* constituit Divina dignatio; sed et nunc non minus tibi et comitibus tuis atque universæ fraternitati gratulamur, quod cum eadem gloria et laudibus vestris reduces vos denuo ad suos fecerit benigna Domini et larga protectio: ut pascendo *gregi pastor*, et *gubernandæ navi gubernator*, et *plebi regendæ rector* redderetur; et appareret relegationem vestram sic divinitus esse dispositam, non ut Episcopus relegatus et pulsus Ecclesiæ deesset, sed ut ad Ecclesiam major rediret. Ep. 61, p. 144.

[2] Nam cum statutum sit omnibus nobis, et æquum sit pariter ac justum, ut uniusquisque causam illic audiatur, ubi est crimen admissum, et *singulis pastoribus portio gregis* sit adscripta, quam *regat unusquisque et gubernet*, rationem *sui actus Domino redditurus*—Ep. 59, p. 136.

[3] Neque enim sic putamina quædam colligenda sunt, ut quæ integra et sana sunt, vulnerentur; nec utilis aut consultus est *pastor*, qui ita morbidas et contactas *oves gregi* admiscet, ut *gregem* totum mali cohærentis afflictatione contaminet. *Ibid.* p. 137.

[4] —Quos constat hic (in Ecclesia Catholica) baptizatos esse, et à nobis ad hæreticos transisse, si postmodum peccato suo cognito, et errore digesto, ad veritatem et matricem redeat, satis sit in pœnitentiam manum imponere;

That is, in other words, he had the sovereign power of excommunication and reconciliation; but of this more fully hereafter. To conclude this prerogative: if what hath been adduced concerning the Bishop's being the *one pastor*, does not make it appear that a Bishop, in St Cyprian's time, had *more power* than Presbyters, it is arrant nonsense to attempt to prove any thing by testimonies. But I have not yet done; for,

XLI.—XI. By the Cyprianic principles, the Bishop was the *judge*, the *one judge*, the *one judge* who *represented Christ*, who *judged* as *Christ's vicar*, within his own district; which must import, at least, that he was *judge* in *chief*, a peerless judge, a judge who, by order or degree (no matter whether,) superior even in power to all other judges. It is not clearer in history that ever there was such a person as St Cyprian, than it is in the Cyprianic monuments that every Bishop within his own diocese enjoyed this prerogative. It were easy to fill some sheets with plain evidences for it, but I shall content myself with a few plain testimonies. Particularly, let G[ilbert] R[ule] turn to Ep. 66th, (it is 69th to Pamelius,) and there he may have enough for his conviction. Florentius Pupianus had charged St Cyprian with divers crimes, and among the rest, the odious sin of pride. Hear now what he returns to this charge.—"Which of us two," says he, "is farthest from humility? whether I, who daily serve the brethren, and readily, and cheerfully, and joyfully, receive those who come to the Church; or thou, who constitutest thyself a *Bishop* of a *Bishop*, and a *judge* of him whom God hath given to be *judge* for the time?"[1] And a little after—"From hence have heresies and schisms

ut quia *ovis* fuerat, hanc *ovem* abalienatam et errabundam in *ovile* suum *pastor* recipiat. Ep. 71, p. 194.

Observatur itaque à nobis et tenetur—explorata et perspecta veritate, ut omnes qui ex quacunque hæresi ad Ecclesiam convertuntur, Ecclesiæ unico baptismo legitimo baptizentur, exceptis his qui baptizati in Ecclesia prius fuerant, et sic ad hæreticos transierant; hos enim oportet cum redeunt, actâ pœnitentiâ, per manus impositionem solam recipi, et in *ovile*, unde erraverant, à *pastore* restitui. Ep. 84, p. 216.

[1] Quis autem nostrum longè est ab humilitate, utrumne ego qui quotidie fratribus servio, et venientes ad Ecclesiam singulos benignè et cum voto et gaudio suscipio; an tu qui te *Episcopum Episcopi et judicem judicis* ad tempus à Deo dati constituis? Ep. 66, p. 166.

hitherto sprung, and do daily spring, that the *Bishop* who is *one*, and is *over* the Church, is contemned by the proud presumption of some, and the man whom God has been pleased to honour, is judged unworthy by men."[1] Hear likewise what he says to Cornelius, Ep. 59, (Pamelio, 55,) "This, and this alone, is the source of all heresies and schisms, that God's *priest* (the Bishop) is not obeyed, and men do not consider that at the same time there ought to be only *one priest* (or Bishop,) only *one judge*, in *Christ's stead*, in a Church."[2]

XLII.—These two last testimonies I adduced in "The Principles of the Cyprianic Age," to prove that by those principles the Bishop was so much the centre, or principle of unity, that the contempt of him, and undutifulness to him, were reckoned the true fountains of heresies and schisms.[3] And G[ilbert] R[ule] was so wise as to pass them entirely over, without so much as once offering to reconcile them with the principles of Presbytery.[4] May it not be as much his wisdom to vex them as little, now they are brought to prove that a Bishop in St Cyprian's time was a peerless judge, clothed with a peerless power within his own district? And how frequently doth our martyr reason from the powers and prerogatives of the *one judge*, the high priest among the Jews, to the like powers and prerogatives of the one judge, the Bishop, among Christians? Take for a taste the testimonies on the margin.[5] In short,

[1] Inde enim schismata et hæreses obortæ sunt et oriuntur, dum *Episcopus* qui *unus* est, et Ecclesiæ *præest*, superba quorundam præsumtione contemnitur, et homo dignatione Dei honoratus, indignus ab hominibus judicatur. Ep. 66, 167.

[2] Neque enim *aliunde* hæreses obortæ sunt aut nata sunt schismata, quam inde quod *sacerdoti Dei* non *obtemperatur*, nec *unus* in Ecclesia ad tempus *sacerdos*, et ad tempus *judex vice Christi* cogitatur. Ep. 59, p. 129.

[3] P. 23.

[4] Cyp. Bp. Exd. Sect. 30, p. 38, 39.

[5] Nec putent sibi vitæ aut salutis constare rationem, si *Episcopis et sacerdotibus* obtemperare noluerint; cum in Deuteronomio Deus Dominus, dicat—ET HOMO QUICUNQUE FECERIT IN SUPERBIA, UT NON EXAUDIAT SACERDOTEM ET JUDICEM QUICUNQUE FUERIT, IN DIEBUS ILLIS, MORIETUR HOMO ILLE —Ep. 4, p. 9.

Vide paria, Ep. 43, p. 85, imo passim, præsertim, Ep. 59, p. 128, ubi sic noster—"Quomodo possunt censuram Domini ultoris evadere, qui talia ingerunt non solum fratribus sed et sacerdotibus (*i. e.* Episcopis) quibus

XLIII.—Let any man but read over, and consider only one of our martyr's Epistles, and let him consider the main design and purpose of it, and then let him say, if he can, that by the principles of the Cyprianic Age the Bishop was not a peerless judge within his own diocese. It is that very long, and very excellent 59th Epistle,—an Epistle, which if G[ilbert] R[ule] had read seriously, and considered narrowly, I am apt to think he had never been so rash as to have published such a book as his "Cyprianic Bishop Examined:" I do most heartily recommend the reading of it to all those who can, and have opportunity. For the instruction of others, let me only give this brief account of it. St Cyprian had not long been a Christian, and he had been shorter time a clergyman, when he was advanced to the Episcopal chair of Carthage; there was a party therefore at Carthage which was highly discontented at his promotion; of this party, besides Felicissimus a Deacon, and perhaps divers others of the inferior orders, there were five Presbyters. And so far as we can learn, by such records as are extant, all the Presbyters of Carthage were but eight in number. So that those five made the major part of the Presbytery, and by consequence, by the Presbyterian principles, might have fairly and legally carried anything they had a mind for by plurality of voices, against the other three and St Cyprian too, supposing him to have had no other powers than such as may be challenged by a Presbyterian moderator. But this by the way. This party, thus headed by five Presbyters, at last upon some occasion which they thought seasonable, make a formal schism, and choose Fortunatus, one of the five, and get him ordained their Bishop, by five who had sometime been Bishops, but for divers crimes had been justly and canonically deposed, before they imposed hands on Fortunatus. The schismatics having thus cast themselves into the form of a Church, (which could not be without a Bishop,) their next care is to try if they can get other Bishops to own them as a true part of the Church Catholic, and allow them their communion. Particularly, they address to Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, an eminent Bishop of an eminent Church, whose

honor tantus de Dei dignatione conceditur, ut quisquis *sacerdoti* ejus, et ad tempus hic *judicanti* non obtemperaret, statim necaretur?

example (could they gain him to own them) would be of great advantage to them by its influence on other Bishops. And to engage him the more effectually, they offer to him to make him judge of the controversies between them and St Cyprian. St Cyprian gets from Cornelius a full account of this their plot and negotiation; whereupon he writes this 59th Epistle to Cornelius, in which he puts him in mind that if he will continue to act as becomes a brother Bishop, a worthy member of the Episcopal College, he must not listen to their suggestions—he must not hearken to their proposal of making him judge of their cause. They had been already judged by himself, whose subjects they were, and his sentence had been ratified by all the Bishops of Africa, and ought to be ratified by all Bishops all the world over, according to the custom of the ecclesiastical discipline and the necessary laws of Catholic Communion. Many of their party had already forsaken them; more would, if he (Cornelius) according to his duty, should discourage them. It was his part, therefore, to send them back to himself (Cyprian) against whom they had rebelled, and who was properly their judge. If they should return sincere penitents, he had an heart to pardon them, and absolve them from the sentence of excommunication he had justly pronounced against them. But till they had first submitted to him, and made their peace with him, no other Bishop could lawfully allow them his communion. This is, in short, the great purpose of the Epistle. And in the prosecution of this main design he has interspersed, almost in every reasoning, bright evidences of his own being judge of all persons within his own district. But for brevity, I shall only translate and transcribe one part of the Epistle. It is p. 137, 138, 139, where, having told Cornelius how many were every day deserting the schismatics after they had chosen an Antibishop, he discourses to this purpose:—

XLIV.—"Many return daily, and knock at the Church (*i. e.*, are earnest to be restored to her communion); but in the meantime, I, who must render an account to our Lord, do seriously ponder and carefully examine who are worthy to be received and admitted to the Church, for some are so unworthy by their own crimes, or their admission is so resolutely and eagerly resisted by their brethren, that they

cannot be received without the scandal and manifest danger of many. And (as you know) prudence does not allow that we should so collect parts that are rotten, as to endanger those which are sound and wholesome, neither is he an useful or a wise pastor who so mixes the scabbed and infected sheep with the flock as to corrupt the whole flock by the contagion of the malady. O that you could be present with me, dearest brother, when those wicked and perverse people return from the schism! Then would you see what difficulty I have to persuade the brethren to so much patience, as without reluctancy to consent to their reception; for as they rejoice and are glad when those who are tolerable, and not extremely vicious, do return, so they rage and exclaim when those who are incorrigible and froward, when those who have polluted themselves either with adulteries or idolatrous sacrifices, and yet continue proud, do return to the Church to corrupt the good souls which have always continued in her communion. With extreme difficulty it is that I persuade the people, or rather extort from them, to allow such to be admitted. And I must confess there is the greater reason for this, the people's reluctancy, inasmuch as divers, whom my gentleness made me to admit, while the people resisted and contradicted, have turned worse than they were before, &c.[1]" Can anything be plainer than it is

[1] Namque ii, quibus in præteritum præstigia obtendebantur, et dabantur verba fallacia, quod simul in Ecclesiam regressuri dicerentur; posteaquam viderunt illic pseudo-episcopum factum, frustratos et deceptos se esse didicerunt et remeant quotidie atque ad Ecclesiam pulsant; nobis tamen, à quibus ratio reddenda est, anxie ponderantibus, et solicite examinantibus, qui recipi et admitti ad Ecclesiam debeant. Quibusdam enim ita aut crimina sua obsistunt, aut fratres obstinatè et firmiter renituntur; ut recipi omnino non possint, cum (vel nisi cum) scandalo et periculo plurimorum. Neque enim sic putamina (quidam legunt putramina) quædam colligenda sunt, ut quæ integra et sana sunt, vulnerentur: Nec utilis aut consultus est *pastor* qui ita morbidas et contactas *oves gregi* admiscet, ut *gregem* totum mali cohærentis afflictatione contaminet.

O si posses, frater carissime, istis interesse nobiscum, cum pravi isti et perversi de schismate revertuntur! Videres quis mihi labor sit persuadere patientiam fratribus nostris, ut animi dolore sopito recipiendis malis curandisque consentiant. Namque ut gaudent et lætantur, cum tolerabiles et minus culpabiles redeunt: ita contra fremunt et reluctantur, quoties inemendabiles, et protervi, et vel adulteriis vel sacrificiis contaminati, et post hæc adhuc insuper et superbi, sic ad Ecclesiam remeant, ut bona intus ingenia corrumpant. Vix plebi persuadeo, imo extorqueo, ut tales pati-

here, that St Cyprian, as Bishop of Carthage, was the person who had authority to judge of the qualifications and dispositions of those who offered to be reconciled to the Church, and the power to reconcile them? But this is not all, hear him farther concerning Felicissimus and the rest of the legates who had been sent by the schismatics to Cornelius. He tells Cornelius that their consciences would not allow them to come to him (Cyprian), and supplicate for a reconciliation with the Church, and that was the reason that made them cross the sea to importune him (Cornelius). "They have not the impudence to come to me (says he), nor the confidence to stand before me, because they know what bitter and grievous crimes can be charged upon them by the brethren; let them come if they dare, and be judged by me. The only excuse, the only defence they can make for themselves, is to shew their sense of their sins, and the fruits of their repentance. Let them come, the Church is shut to no man, the *Bishop* denies himself to no man. My patience, my gentleness, and my humanity, are in readiness to all who come. I wish all may return to the Church. I wish all my fellow-soldiers may be combined in the camp of Christ, and in the house of God the Father. I can pardon all crimes; I dissemble many, through the earnest desire I have of collecting the fraternity. Nay, even those crimes which are committed against God I do not examine with the rigidest severity. I am almost faulty myself in remitting faults so easily. I receive all sincere penitents, all who do humbly confess their sins, and make satisfaction with all readiness and fulness of affection; but if there are any who think they can return to the Church, not by supplications but by threatenings, or fancy that they can make way for themselves, not by lamentations and satisfactions but by terrors, let them assure themselves that they shall find the Church of our Lord shut up against them, and that the invincible camp of Christ, being fortified by our Lord's protection, shall yield to no menaces. A Priest of God (or a Bishop) adhering to the gospel, and observing Christ's precepts, may be killed, but not conquered.—What!

antur admitti: et justior factus est fraternitatis dolor, ex eo quod unus atque alius, obnitente plebe, et contradicente, mea tamen facilitate susceptí, pejores extiterunt, quam prius fuerant.——Ep. 59. p. 137, 138.

Brother, shall we so far prostitute the dignity of the Catholic Church, and the faithful and uncorrupted majesty of the people who retain their integrity, and the *sacerdotal* (*i. e.* the Episcopal) *authority* and *power*, as to suffer those who are *out* of the Church to judge the *ruler* of the Church? or heretics to judge a Christian, or the sickly the sound, or the wounded him that is whole, or lapsers him that hath stood, or criminals their *judge*, or shall we allow those who are sacrilegeous to judge *the Priest?* What remains, but that the Church should veil to the Capitol?[1]"

XLV.—I do not lay the stress on my translation (though I think I have not receded from St Cyprian's mind) but on our martyr's own words, as you have them faithfully transcribed on the margin. Let any man thoroughly consider them, and reconcile them with the idea of a Presbyterian moderator if he can. Or rather, was it possible for St

[1] De istis vero quid dicam, qui nunc ad te (Cornelium Romanum) cum Felicissimo—navigaverunt, legati à Fortunato pseudo episcopo missi—conscientiam suam norunt, nec nos (me, nempe Cyprianum) audent adire—— Neque enim potest illis frons esse ad nos accedendi, aut apud nos consistendi; cum sint acerbissima et gravissima crimina, quæ eis à fratribus ingerantur. Si judicium nostrum (Cypriani, ut ex iis quæ sequuntur manifestissimum) voluerint experiri, veniant. Denique si qua illis excusatio et defensio potest esse, videamus quem habeant satisfactionis suæ sensum, quem afferant pœnitentiæ fructum: Nec Ecclesia istic cuiquam clauditur, nec Episcopus alicui denegatur: patientia et facilitas et humanitas nostra venientibus præsto est. Opto omnes in Ecclesiam regredi, opto universos commilitones nostros intra Christi castra, et Dei Patris domicilia concludi, remitto omnia, multa dissimulo studio et voto colligendæ fraternitatis, etiam quæ in Deum commissa sunt, non pleno judicio religionis examino, delictis plusquam oportet remittendis pene ipse delinquo: amplector prompta et plena dilectione cum pœnitentia revertentes, peccatum suum satisfactione humili et simplici confitentes. Si qui autem sunt, qui putant se ad Ecclesiam non precibus, sed minis regredi posse, aut existimant aditum se sibi non lamentationibus et satisfactionibus, sed terroribus facere; pro certo habeant, contra tales clausam stare Ecclesiam Domini, nec castra Christi invicta et fortia, et Domino tuente munita, minis cedere. Sacerdos Dei Evangelium tenens, et Christi præcepta custodiens, occidi potest, non potest vinci.——An ad hoc, frater carissime, deponenda est Catholicæ Ecclesiæ dignitas, et plebis intus positæ fidelis atque incorrupta majestas, et sacerdotalis quoque auctoritas et potestas, ut judicare velle se dicant de Ecclesiæ præposito extra Ecclesiam constituti? de Christiano hæretici? de sano saucii? de integro vulnerati? de stante lapsi? de judice rei? de sacerdote sacrilegi? (*i. e.* uno verbo, Felicissimus sive Fortunatus eorum vel satellites, qui contra me rebellaverunt, de me episcopo suo, &c.) Quid superest quam ut Ecclesia Capitolio cedat— Ep. 59, p. 138, 139.

Cyprian, had he set himself for it, to have painted a *judge* (at least) in *chief* in more lively colours, than he has here done himself, as being such a *judge* within his own district? To attempt to add more light to such a genuine piece might readily obscure it, and mar its beauty, or disorder its symmetry, and therefore I shall let it alone, and proceed.

XLVI.—XII. Then, if we may reason by fair consequences, by the principles of the Cyprianic age, a Bishop was the same to his diocese that a king is to his kingdom. St Cyprian reasons more than once to this purpose against schismatics. He makes them rebels to their Bishop; and he makes Antibishops usurpers; and he makes true Bishops immediately subordinate to God, and only accountable to him. From such principles as these it needed be no difficult task to draw the consequence handsomely enough; But his reasonings, which I take notice of at present, are such as these, in which he makes the sin of schismatical Bishops, such as Novatianus, Fortunatus, &c. of the same stamp with Jeroboam's, in turning king over the ten tribes.[1] And in another place he proves that they cannot be Bishops by Divine approbation, from Hosea, viii, 4.—THEY HAVE SET UP KINGS, BUT NOT BY ME.[2] Nay, we have more than thirty Bishops besides him, insisting on the same argument in a synodical epistle.[3] And here let me digress a little, if that which is in some sort necessary, for vindicating my former book from an imagined absurdity, may be called a digression. The matter is this:—

[1] Denique quam sit inseparable unitatis sacramentum, et quam sine spe sint, et perditionem sibi maximam de indignatione Dei acquirant, qui schisma faciunt, *et relicto Episcopo*, alium sibi foris pseudoepiscopum constituunt, declarat in libris Regnorum Scriptura Divina, ubi à tribu Juda et Benjamin decem tribus scissæ sunt, et relicto rege, alterum sibi foris constituerunt. ET INDIGNATIS EST, inquit, DOMINUS IN OMNE SEMEN ISRAEL—quia constituerunt sibi regem Hieroboam—indignatum esse Dominum dicit—quod ab unitate dissipati essent, utque alterum sibi regem constituissent—Ep. 69, p. 183, 184.

[2] Plane Episcopi non de voluntate Dei fiunt, qui extra Ecclesiam fiunt—Sicut ipse Dominus in duodecim prophetis ponit et dicit—SIBIMET IPSIS REGEM CONSTITUERUNT ET NON PER ME. Ep. 59, p. 129.

[3] Ordinari enim nonnunquam indignos, non secundum Dei voluntatem, sed secundum humanam præsumtionem, et hæc Deo displicere, quæ non veniant ex legitima et justa ordinatione, Deus ipse manifestat per Osee prophètam, dicens: SIBIMET IPSIS CONSTITUERUNT REGEM ET NON PER ME—Ep. 67, p. 1.

XLVII.—After I had proved by arguments which G[ilbert] R[ule] shall never be able to answer, that a Bishop in St Cyprian's time had the sole power of ordinations, I added[1] that by the fundamental rules of society it belonged to the supreme power, wherever lodged, to promote and give commissions to all inferior officers, affirming that this was one of the rights of majesty, and one as intrinsic and incommunicable as any. For this my adversary has insulted me more than once. Thus, reckoning up the stars (as he calls them) with which my treatise is bespangled, he makes this one (one, no doubt, of the first magnitude), that I ascribe *majesty* to my Bishop.[2] And because I had said on some occasion, that St Cyprian wrote in an authoritative style to his clergy, using the word *sciatis*, a word whereby superiors used to signify their will and pleasure to their subjects, G[ilbert] R[ule] chastises me to purpose. He thinks it not enough to say that many more will smile at my fancy (of making *sciatis* a word importing authority) than will be convinced by the strength of my reason drawn from it,[3] (though I perceive now the fancy, if it be a fancy, is the admirable Mr Dodwell's[4] as well as mine,) but he adds that it is a token of a mind deeply impressed with the *majesty* of a Bishop, when the word doth so sound in mine ears. Now,

XLVIII.—In the first place, it is certain that I did not, in direct terms, ascribe *majesty* to my Bishop, and it must be by collection only that G[ilbert] R[ule] can fasten it upon me: But if it can be collected by good consequence or consequences, that by ascribing to my Bishop the power of granting commissions to inferior officers, I ascribed *majesty* to him, I would gladly learn of G[ilbert] [Rule] if they are not as good consequences, whereby I have just now inferred that St Cyprian and his contemporaries looked on a Bishop as a *king* within his own diocese; And if they, without any absurdity, could make a Bishop a king, why might not I, while reasoning on their principles, ascribe *majesty* to him with as little absurdity? Can G[ilbert] R[ule] form to himself the idea of a *king* without *majesty*?

[1] The Principles of the Cyp. Age, p. 43.

[2] Cyp. Bp. Exd. Sect. 4, p. 3.

[3] *Ibid.* Sect. 44, p. 60.

[4] De Jure Laicorum sacerdotali, cap. 2, sect. 29. [The learned Henry Dodwell, author of the "Dissertationes Cyprianicæ."—E.]

Is he for casting even kings themselves in the same mould with Presbyterian moderators? But this is not all; for,

XLIX.—2. Suppose G[ilbert] R[ule] did justly collect that I ascribed *majesty* to a Bishop, (nor do I say it is an infirm collection,) and suppose I had not had those reasonings of St Cyprian and his contemporaries to found on, yet how will G[ilbert] R[ule] prove it absurd to ascribe *majesty* to a Bishop? Can he give us a just definition of *majesty*, politically taken, and withal prove that it cannot agree to a Bishop within his diocese? What man of any good acquaintance with any author, (Bodinus, *e. g.* or Arnisæus,) who have written skilfully in politics, will not readily acknowledge that *majesty* may be properly attributed to any person in whom the sovereignty of any body politic is lodged? By consequence, if I have proved, or can prove, that by the principles of the Cyprianic Age the ecclesiastical sovereignty was lodged in the Bishop, where is the absurdity of ascribing *majesty* to him? The term *sovereignty* cannot (I hope) offend G[ilbert] R[ule]'s, or any other Scottish Presbyterian ears, when they remember that no meaner men than Mr Samuel Rutherford and Mr Andrew Melvin have used it, and applied it even to churchmen,—Rutherford, if I do right remember, somewhere in his peaceable plea for Paul's Presbytery. Sure I am, Melvin calls every minister *supreme ecclesiastical magistrate* within his own parish.[1] With the reader's allowance let me farther ask,

L.—3. Why may not *majesty* be ascribed to a Christian Bishop, as well as Hirtius ascribes it to the priest of Bellona, in Comana of Cappadocia?[2] Why may not a disciple of St Cyprian's ascribe *majesty* to a Christian Bishop, as well as St Cyprian ascribed it to angels?[3] Are not Bishops in Scripture called angels? Why not to Bishops as well as

[1] Quod autem asseris (Tilene) neminem Apostolorum cæteris præfuisse, verè. Et nos similiter neminem usquam Episcopum ex Scriptura Episcopo contendimus; sed quemque in sua parœcia supremum esse ecclesiasticum magistratum asserimus. Contra Tilenum. Cap. 2, sect. 13.

[2] —Venit Comana, vetustissimum et sanctissimum in Cappadocia Bellonæ templum, quod tanta religione colitur, ut sacerdos ejus deæ majestate, imperio et potentia secundus à rege consensu gentis illius habeatur. Hirt. de Bel. Alex. p. 742. Edit. 1661.

[3] Ille (diabolus) dudum angelica majestate subnixus—De Zelo et Livore, p. 222.

to the Church ?[1] Especially if it be true (as I affirm it to be) that the ecclesiastical sovereignty is lodged in the Bishops ? Why not to Bishops as well as to the laity ?[2] Nay, what if St Cyprian has ascribed it fairly to Bishops enough ? Consider the testimony on the margin,[3] for to me it looks very like it. " How vain a thing is it," says he, " that after Novatianus has been repulsed, refuted, excommunicated by the Bishops all the world over, we should suffer flatterers to mock us, and judge of the *majesty* and dignity of the Church ?" Search this to the bottom, I say, and if I mistake not, you'll find that this dignity and majesty were even subjected in the Bishops ; for they, they were the persons who, all the world over, had repulsed, refuted, and excommunicated Novatianus. Once more,

LI.—4. If what hath been said is not enough, then I do farther ask, doth not Mr Calvin himself[4] ascribe a consular power to the primitive Bishops ? And doth not Cicero ascribe *majesty* even to a Consul designatus, to one who was only to be promoted to that dignity at the next election ?[5] And why might not I, as well as Salmasius, ascribe *majesty* to a Bishop ?[6] Was it orthodox in him enough, and must it be heretical in me ? Nay, what material difference between what I said and what Mr Blondel himself hath said

[1] Neque enim ad Catholicæ Ecclesiæ majestatem pariter, ac dignitatem pertinere debet, quod apud se hæreticorum et schismaticorum moliatur audacia. Ep. 59, p. 132.

[2] Vide supra, p. 302 in not.

[3] Quam vanum est, frater carissime, ut, Novatiano nuper retuso et refutato, et per totum orbem, à sacerdotibus Dei abstento ; nunc adulatores adhuc nobis patiamur illudere, et de majestate et dignitate Ecclesiæ judicare. Ep. 68, p. 177.

[4] Inst. Lib. 4, cap. 4, sect. 2.

[5] Quam (Mutinam) cum operibus munitionibusque sepsisset (Antonius) nec eum florentissimæ coloniæ dignitas, neque consulis designati majestas à parricidio deterreret—Phil. 13, n. 358.

[6] Quid aliud hic vester, (Petavius) O Episcopi, nunc facit ? Sed, quod longe magis facit ad immunuendam, immo prorsum pessumdandam vestri ordinis majestatem, ab ambitione, honorum cupiditate, ceterisque malis artibus, quibus depravati sunt Christianorum animi, originem id traxisse dicit. Walo Mess. p. 165, 166. Et paulo post—" A malis vero artibus, et corruptione animorum, ut totius Ecclesiæ depravatione, vitiorumque in locum virtutum Christianarum subrogatione, initium ejus (præeminentiæ Episcopalis) et institutum arcessere, hoc vero non ferendum Episcopis, si majestatis suæ comiter ab omnibus conservandæ curam agere velint." *Ibid.*

in his apology for St Jerome ?[1] To add no more at present, what if the great Chamier reasons not only to the same purpose, but even in the same terms that I did ? Has not he this for one argument against the Pope's ecclesiastical monarchy, that supposing such a monarchy, it would follow, against the constant practice of the Primitive Church, that all Bishops should be created by him who is the monarch ? "The consequence," says he, "is manifest, for in every republic all the magistrates are in use to be created by him in whom the *majesty* is lodged."[2] Let G[ilbert] R[ule] try his hand and shew so much as a shadow of a difference between Chamier's reasoning and mine. By this time methinks G[ilbert] R[ule] and his brethren may see that it will not be mere trifling about terms, or making a pother about words or phrases, that will be able to overthrow the credit of my former book. To shew them this was all I designed this digression for ; and so I leave it.

LII.—Every ingenuous reader by this time (I am apt to think) will readily acknowledge that I have competently performed what I undertook for in this chapter, viz. that I have given such a specimen of prerogatives lodged in the persons of the Bishops of the Cyprianic Age, as contradistinguished from Presbyters, as may be sufficient to justify the propriety of the terms and phrases accounted for in the preceding chapter, and withal, farther demonstrate that Bishops then had more power as well as more dignity than Presbyters. It were easy to adduce a great many more of such prerogatives, neither mentioned here nor in my former book. An accurate inquirer may readily collect them. I might likewise resume all those I did formerly insist on, and not only easily vindicate them, every one of them, from the always frivolous and frequently ridiculous exceptions offered against them by G[ilbert] R[ule], but farther confirm them

[1] —Ut ei quem olim, in Romana republicâ, exercitus elegerat, levaverat, principem salutaverat, nihil ad summam Imperii potestatem majestatemque deesse credebatur: (ita) in quem Presbyterium latis suffragiis consenserat, quem in excelsiori gradu collocaverat, et Episcopum nominaverat, pleno (hoc ipso) Episcopatus jure gavisum fuisse—Blond. Apol. pro Sent. Hieron. p. 310.

[2] —— Consequentia patet, quia in republica qualibet, omnes magistratus creari solent ab eo penes quem est majestas. Panstrat. t. 2, l. 13, c. 10, s. 1.

by many other proper and concluding arguments. But I am unwilling, where it is so very needless, to presume too much upon my reader's patience. I shall only therefore review one of them (and by my management of it the reader may competently judge what might be said for the rest.) It shall be,

LIII.—XIII. The Bishop's sovereign power in the administration of the sacraments. G[ilbert] R[ule] seems to have confessed that if the Bishops were vested with this prerogative, it will follow by good consequence, that they had a sovereign interest in excommunication, absolution, enjoining penances, &c. He says expressly, "He will not contest the consequence with me." All he pretends is, that I did not sufficiently establish the antecedent.[1] This then is a prerogative of very great consequence—a prerogative which, if I can sufficiently establish, I have reason to hope that G[ilbert] R[ule] will be brought to confess that a Bishop in St Cyprian's time had more power than Presbyters. Let us try then if it can be sufficiently established; particularly, let us insist a little on the sacrament of baptism; for it is plain that the Bishop's prerogative as to this being once sufficiently established, the other sacrament will follow in consequence. I shall move by these two steps—*first*, I shall vindicate the arguments I did formerly adduce; and *secondly*, I shall offer some other arguments for the Bishop's sovereign power of baptism.

LIV.—*First*, I shall vindicate the arguments I did formerly adduce. This needs neither be a difficult nor a tedious task, for when I was collecting the "Principles of the Cyprianic Age," thinking it improper to be prolix on any point commonly agreed to by learned Presbyterians, I insisted only on one testimony of St Cyprian's, which, together with Firmilian's and Fortunatus's Bishop of Thuchabori, two of his contemporaries, and Tertullian's and Ignatius's, two of his ancestors, seemed to me sufficient for my purpose. These five testimonies appeared to me so very plain and peremptory, that I do confess I thought them impregnable, yet G[ilbert] R[ule] has endeavoured to disable them. What he has answered to Tertullian's testimony

[1] Cyp. Bp. Exd. sect. 51, p. 75.

has been already considered in part,[1] and we may hereafter have occasion to hear more about it;[2] and thither I refer the reader at present

LV.—To Ignatius's, which is, "That it is not lawful to baptize without the Bishop," he has returned a most surprising answer. He says the meaning is, "It is not lawful to baptize without the authority of the Presbytery, which the Bishop as their preses conveyeth."[3] What should be said to such a banter? For my part I think he that laughs at it treats it according to its merit. Why should one be at pains to ask G[ilbert] R[ule] if he thinks it creditable thus to obtrude his own wild and groundless fancies on his readers, or to put him to it, to produce so much as one testimony from any one author of the first three centuries that can give the least appearance of countenance to his gloss on the words of Ignatius? What need of reasoning the case with him I say, with any degree of seriousness? yet let me tell him one thing seriously; it is, that seeing he is so lucky at reconciling the Epistles of Ignatius with the principles of Presbytery (and even the testimony we have before us, than which there is none in all those Epistles more apparently irreconcileable with those principles), I cannot understand for what reason he should question the genuineness of these Epistles as he has done. This is certain, the greatest reason that moved Salmasius, Blondel, and Daille to question it, was that in those Epistles the Episcopal pre-eminence was so keenly and so frequently asserted. Salmasius says, "The author of those Epistles repeats and inculcates this pre-eminence usque ad nauseam," even to the turning the reader's stomach.[4] And therefore he will needs have them forged about the beginning or the middle of the second century; at which time he says, "Bishops were set over Presbyters." Blondel affirms peremptorily that the author of these Epistles has been

[1] Supra, sect. 34. [2] Infra, cap. 8. [3] Cyp. Bp. Exd. sect. 49, p. 73.

[4] Epistolæ illæ natæ et suppositæ videntur circa initium aut medium secundi seculi, quo tempore primus singularis Episcopatus supra Presbyteratum introductus fuit. Ideo ut eum commendaret, et confirmaret, in omnibus epistolis septem prioribus *usque ad nauseam* sæpe iterat et inculcat, Episcopo tanquam Christo esse obediendum. *Nihil sine Episcopo* in Ecclesiæ agendum—Wal. Mess. p. 253.

anxious for a prelacy, so anxious, that he has in a manner reckoned that there was an end of Christianity if there were not Bishops above Presbyters, and if Presbyters did not pay a due homage and obedience to Bishops.[1] It is Daille's "Palmarium Argumentum," his thumping, his victorious, his all-conquering argument, that the author of those Epistles always distinguishes Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons; that is, three orders of clergymen,[2] which, he says, "cannot agree with the time of Ignatius." In short, had it not been for the frequent, the plain, the peremptory, the irresistible evidences for Episcopal superiority contained in those Epistles, (whereof this sovereign power of the sacraments is certainly none of the meanest), I make no manner of doubt but these three great advocates for Presbytery would have allowed Ignatius to have continued in as peaceable possession of his own genuine epistles as Clemens, Romanus, and Polycarpus are allowed to do of theirs; yet so blind were they as not to see what not only G[ilbert] R[ule] but even Mr Jameson,[3] who confesses he wants the use of his eyes,[4] have seen, it seems very distinctly, namely, that every syllable in all those Epistles is reconcileable with the Presbyterian principles. But to let alone Mr Jameson at present, and keep me by my man G[ilbert] R[ule], let me ask him seriously, can he believe himself in the right in thus reconciling Ignatius and parity, when such three men (as much concerned in interest as he) deemed it impossible? And now let the reader judge what is to be thought

[1] Ad quid verò *anxius* ille per omnes fere epistolas pro *Episcopatu singulari labor*, quasi de Christianismo actum sit si *Episcopi* Presbyteris *majores* Christianis plebibus desint, aut ab iisdem minus colantur?—Blond. Præf. ad Apol. pro sent. Hieron. p. 42.

[2] Vide Dallæum "De scriptis quæ sub Dionysii Areopagitæ et Ignatii Antiocheni nominibus circumferuntur." Cap. 26, p. 386. Edit. Genevæ 1666. Hic enim (quisquis epistolarum harum auctor fuit) duo illa nomina (Episcopi nempe et Presbyteri) plane eodem sensu accipit, quo à tertii seculi, et sequentium Christianis ad hæc usque tempora accepta fuisse et scimus et libenter concedimus: sic nimirum, ut duas dignitates à se invicem distinctas significent; Episcopusque is intelligatur, qui Presbyter quidem ipse quoque est, sed et Presbyterio præest, et in eorum collegio caput est; Presbyter vero is fit qui *Episcopo subest:* Unde necessario exsurgunt tres in Ecclesia ministrorum *ordines:* Episcopus, *primus et summus*, Presbyter, *secundus et medius*, Diaconus, denique *tertius et infimus*—hæc ille.

[3] Mr Jameson in his Nazianzeni Querela. Part. II. sect. iv. p. 134, &c.

[4] [Jameson, who was Professor of History in Glasgow College, was blind. The pun, to say the least of it, is unworthy of our author.—E.]

of G[ilbert] R[ule]'s abilities. He has not only here made Ignatius speak plain Presbyterianism with regard to the sacrament of baptism, and in the next section (viz. sect. I. p. 74,) with regard to the Holy Eucharist, but also in another place,[1] he has deliberately, and of set purpose, applied himself to prove parity from the Ignatian Epistles. And there too he has made another surprising discovery; for he ingenuously confesses, that what he adduces from them for parity, he has from famous Archbishop Usher, in his "Original of Bishops and Metropolitans." Now, is it not a surprising discovery, that that excellent person, so renowned for sense and learning, should yet have so little of either, as to adduce testimonies from Ignatius's Epistles for Episcopal superiority, (for it is evident that it is for the assertion of that he adduces them), which very self same testimonies G[ilbert] R[ule], the famous vindicator of the Scottish Kirk, can plunder him of, and without hesitation muster amongst his main forces in a pitched battle for maintaining Presbyterian parity? What feats hereafter can be deemed too hard for such a champion? But enough of this, for perhaps I have made too bold with good manners in entertaining the reader with accounts of such impudent extravagancies. Proceed we therefore to vindicate the other three testimonies, Cyprian's, Firmilian's and Fortunatus's: And here our luck is good, for

LVI.—G[ilbert] R[ule] has been so very obliging as to return his answer to all three together, as aiming at the same scope, and founded on the same principles; so that if his answer comes not home to every one of them he has fairly failed in his reckoning. Now let us try it as to St Cyprian, the first of the three. I am for giving G[ilbert] R[ule] very fair play; wherefore let me first repeat the testimony, and then I shall consider what he has returned to it. The testimony is in Epistle 73, written to Jubaianus, where St Cyprian reasons to this purpose against the validity of heretical baptisms—"It is evident where, and by whom the remission of sins (which is given in baptism,) can be given; for our Lord gave, first, to Peter (on whom he built his Church, instituting and pointing out thereby the original of unity)

[1] Cyp. Bishop Examined, sect. 36, p. 47.

that *power*, that WHATSOEVER HE SHOULD LOOSE IN EARTH, SHOULD BE LOOSED IN HEAVEN. Then after the resurrection he gave it to all the Apostles, when he said, (John xx, 21, 22, 23,) AS MY FATHER HATH SENT ME," &c. Whence we learn that none have authority to baptize and remit sins but the *Bishops*, and those who are founded in the evangelical law and our Lord's institution; and that nothing can be bound or loosed *out* of the Church, seeing there is none there who has the power of binding and loosing. "Farther, dearest brother," says he, "I do not propose this without divine warrant, when I say that God has disposed all things by a certain law and a proper ordinance, and that none can *usurp* any thing against the *Bishops*, all being subject to them. For Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, attempted to assume to themselves *licentiam*, an independent power of sacrificing, against Moses and Aaron the priest, and they were singularly punished for it, because it was unlawful." You have our martyr's own words on the margin.[1] Now I said (and do still say) that the force of St Cyprian's reasoning here lies visibly in this, that baptism performed by heretics or schismatics could not be valid, because neither performed by the Bishop, nor with his allowance, or in dependence on him, but in opposition to him. Let us next consider what G[ilbert] R[ule] has returned to this argument.

LVII.—He says "it is evident, and that I confess it, that the question treated by St Cyprian is, whether Presbyters,

[1] Manifestum est autem ubi et per quos remissa, peccatorum dari possit, quæ in baptismo scilicet datur. Nam Petro primum Dominus, super quem ædificavit Ecclesiam et unde unitatis originem instituit et ostendit; potestatem istam dedit, ut ID SOLVERETUR IN CŒLIS QUOD ILLE SOLVISSET IN TERRIS. Et post resurrectionem quoque ad apostolos loquitur, dicens SICUT MISIT ME PATER ET EGO MITTO VOS: HOC CUM DIXISSET, INSPIRAVIT, ET AIT ILLIS: ACCIPITE SPIRITUM SANCTUM: SI CUJUS REMISERITIS PECCATA, REMITTENTUR ILLI: SI CUJUS TENUERITIS, TENEBUNTUR. Unde intelligimus non nisi in Ecclesiæ *Præpositis*, et in Evangelica lege ac Dominica ordinatione fundatis licere baptizare, et remissam peccatorum dare; foris autem nec ligari aliquid posse nec solvi, ubi non sit qui aut ligare possit aliquid, aut solvere. Nec hoc, frater carissime, sine Scripturæ Divinæ authoritate proponimus, ut dicamus certa lege ac propria ordinatione Divinitus cuncta esse disposita: Nec posse quenquam contra *Episcopos et sacerdotes* usurpare sibi aliquid, quod non sit sui juris et potestatis. Nam et Chore, et Dathan et Abiron, contra Moysen et Aaron sacerdotem sacrificandi sibi *licentiam* usurpare conati sunt: Nec tamen quod illicite ausi sunt, impune fecerunt. Ep. 73, p. 201.

who by heresy or schism had departed from the communion of the Church might baptize? and if they did, whether that baptism was valid, or the person was to be again baptized, and that baptism esteemed null?"[1] In which account there are at least three palpable mistakes: 1. That the question was whether Presbyters who by heresy or schism, &c. For it is most manifest that St Cyprian comprehended pretended Bishops as well as Presbyters in the question; and it has certainly been an oversight in G[ilbert] R[ule] to say that I confessed that the question was, whether Presbyters, &c. 2. Another mistake, or rather a manifest blunder is, that the question was, whether such Presbyters, &c. might baptize; and if they did, whether that baptism was valid, &c. No such state of the question in all the Cyprianic monuments. This is indeed a state of the question which I may safely call at best next neighbour to nonsense; for if they might baptize, how could it ever have been a question whether their baptism was valid? for certainly if they might baptize, their baptism was valid baptism; and therefore the question had been this upon the matter, whether valid baptism was valid baptism? A third mistake is, that St Cyprian made it part of the question, whether the person was to be *again baptized?* He never allowed any such state of the question; and he was angry that it should be called *rebaptization*, that is, baptizing again.[2] But these are not matters of the greatest moment; and I have only taken notice of them that the reader may see that G[ilbert] R[ule] can talk crudely as well as other men. Proceed we now to the pith of his answer:

LVIII.—"None of those Fathers" (*i.e.* neither Cyprian, Firmilian, nor Fortunatus, says he) "did ever assert that in the Church a sound Presbyter could not baptize without the Bishop's leave within the limits of his own charge."[3] Now, if he means that none of them did pronounce so many individual

[1] Cyp. Bp. Exd. sect. 49, p. 71, 72.

[2] Nos autem dicimus eos qui *inde* (*i. e.* ab hæresi vel schismate) veniunt non *rebaptizari* apud nos, sed *baptizari*. Ep. 71, p. 193.—Statuentes unum baptisma esse quod sit in Ecclesia Catholica constitutum, ac per hoc non *rebaptizari*, sed *baptizari* à nobis. Ep. 73, p. 198.

Sine causa quidam falso et invidioso verbo impugnant veritatem, ut *rebaptizare* nos dicant: quando Ecclesiæ hæreticos non *rebaptizet*, sed *baptizet*. Adelphius à Thasbalte. Conc. Carth. Suff. 35.

[3] P. 71.

terms, what is it but arrant trifling? If he means that St Cyprian, *e. g.* never asserted so much upon the matter, what is it but arrant forehead? what is it but giving a sturdy denial to a conclusion, without taking any notice of the premises? doth not St Cyprian fairly and formally reason the case? doth he not positively affirm that no sacerdotal acts can be performed in opposition to the Bishops? and doth he not prove it by the punishment of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, for their unhallowed attempt in assuming to themselves an independent power of sacrificing—a power of sacrificing not in dependence on, but in opposition to Aaron the priest? doth he not most manifestly reason here upon the same principles on which he reasoned on all other occasions when he made use of the same medium or argument? the medium I mean, taken from the punishment of those three usurpers, Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and I am heartily willing that it be tried in all cases in which he uses it; and if once in all his writings he uses it without designing thereby to assert the Bishop's sovereignty, and to condemn all rebellions against him, I shall submit to any correction G[ilbert] R[ule] shall contrive for me. But G[ilbert] R[ule] will prove that the aforesaid Fathers "never meant that a Presbyter could not baptize without the Bishop's leave," &c. and he will prove it evidently. How? "they plead (forsooth) that none can baptize out of the Church," nor bind or loose out of the Church. Now, if G[ilbert] R[ule] saw any consequence here, I confess he was sharper sighted than I shall pretend to be. Was there ever pleasanter reasoning? consider it reader—here it is. St Cyprian, "pleads that none can baptize out of the Church, nor bind nor loose out of the Church;" and therefore "he never meant that a sound Presbyter might not baptize without the Bishop's leave within the limits of his own charge." Is not this to prove evidently?

LIX.—But he goes on. "They (St Cyprian, &c.) say expressly that none can baptize but they who are founded in the evangelical law; and I hope (says he) it will not be denied that ministers of congregations are founded on that law." No indeed, it shall not be denied; but doth it hence follow that St Cyprian would have allowed Presbyters to baptize without the Bishop's allowance, or in opposition to him? were not the inferior orders of Priests and Levites

as much founded in the divine law as the High Priest himself was? and will you say that the inferior priests were thereby empowered to perform sacerdotal acts without dependence on the High Priest, or in opposition to him? In a word, let us first see how St Cyprian's arguing from the rebellion and punishment of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, to infer thereby the great guilt of attempting to baptize without dependence on, or in opposition to the Bishop, can consist with his allowing Presbyters to baptize without the Bishop's leave within the limits of their own charge, and then make of him what you please. But G[ilbert] R[ule] has not done.

LX.—"That Bishops are named in these reasonings as having the power of baptizing maketh nothing against us," Presbyterians. Why? "Because all parish ministers were so called, and none without their allowance ought to intrude on their charge, in this or any other administration."[1] Produce but one single authority from the writings of St Cyprian, or any of his contemporaries, wherein he who was really a Presbyter and no more, was called a Bishop, and the cause is your's. But "the authority for baptizing, and other church work, was communicated from the Presbytery by their president, the Bishop; he indeed gave the power, but not by his own sole authority, but by that of the Presbytery."[2] Our controversy is about a matter of fact at more than one thousand four hundred years' distance from us; and might not G[ilbert] R[ule] have good reason to laugh at me if I should be so good-natured as to take his own bare word for a just determination of it? And what else have we here, what else can we have here, but his own bare word? Do not so far mistake me good Sir, as I know you would reject my bare authority, so allow me to give your's the same entertainment. I do peremptorily affirm that you have not so much as the shadow of a probability of the truth of your assertion in the monuments of that age. The Pope himself I trow, doth not pretend that his infallibility can answer for matters of fact; as little I think myself obliged to believe your's, especially in a case wherein you not only have nothing for you, but the whole stream of the principles,

[1] P. 72. [2] P. 72.

reasonings, and writings of that age against you. And so much for shewing G[ilbert] R[ule]'s willingness to elude the force of an unanswerable argument, found in St Cyprian's Epistle to Jubaianus, for the Bishop's sovereign power in baptism.

LXI.—As little do his aforesaid answers evite the force of the testimonies of Fortunatus, Bishop of Thuchaboris, and Firmilian. They do indeed continue still to call most loudly for either a confession of conviction, or at least a more passant solution. They are a little more stubborn than to yield at the very presenting of even the most formidable trifle; and therefore I am not ashamed that I adduced them, so far from it, that I shall even repeat them here. "Jesus Christ," says Fortunatus in the venerable Council of Carthage, anno 256, "our Lord and God, the Son of the Father and Creator, built his Church upon a rock, and not upon heresy; and he gave the *power of baptizing to Bishops*, and not to heretics. Those, therefore, who are out of the Church, and stand against Christ, and scatter his flock, cannot baptize, being out of the Church."[1] He who can elude the evidence of so plain a testimony may do with testimonies what he pleases.

LXII.—Neither is Firmilian less peremptory. "No heretics," says he, "who cut themselves off from the Church of God can have any *power* or grace, seeing all *power* and grace is restricted to the Church where (not every senior, but) those seniors rule who possess the *power of baptizing*, *imposing hands* (in confirmation), and *ordaining*; for, as an heretic cannot *ordain*, or *confirm*, so neither can he *baptize*," &c.[2] What can be plainer than that Firmilian here ascribes the power of baptizing to those, and those only, who had the power of ordaining and imposing hands (whether in

[1] Jesus Christus Dominus et Deus noster, Dei Patris et Creatoris filius, super petram ædificavit Ecclesiam suam, non super hæresin; et *potestatem baptizandi Episcopis* dedit, non hæreticis. Quare qui extra Ecclesiam sunt, et contra Christum stantes, oves ejus et gregem spargunt; baptizare *foris* non possunt. Con. Carth. Suff. 17.

[2] Sed et cæteri quique hæretici, si se ab Ecclesiæ sciderint, nihil habere *potestatatis* aut gratiæ possunt; quando omnis *potestas* et gratia in Ecclesia constituta sit, ubi præsident *majores natu*, qui et *baptizandi, et manum imponendi et ordinandi possident potestatem*. Hæretico enim sicut *ordinare* non licet, nec *manum imponere*; ita nec *baptizare*, nec quicquam sancte ac spiritaliter gerere—Ep. 75, p. 221.

confirmation or reconciliation, is equally for our purpose). But who but Bishops, by the common principles of those times, had the power of ordaining and imposing the hand either for confirmation or reconciliation? But what needs more? Let Firmilian explain himself, and tell us whom he means by those seniors to whom he gives the power of baptism. He doth it in that same very page. He tells us, I say, that they were the Bishops, as you may learn from his own words on the margin.[1] Hear him again in that same Epistle, when he tells how "he and all the Bishops who met with him in the Synod of Iconium, decreed that all those should be holden as unbaptized who were baptized by such as had once been *Bishops* in the Catholic Church, if they were baptized by them after they had separated from the Church."[2] So plainly doth Firmilian tell us whom he meant by his *majores natu*, his seniors, to whom he ascribed the power of baptizing, confirming, and ordaining. And so much in vindication of my former arguments. Proceed we now,

LXIII.—*Secondly*, To confirm this Episcopal prerogative by some other arguments; and here there are such stores offering themselves from all quarters, that one might fill a volume with them; but I shall study brevity. And in the first place, if G[ilbert] R[ule] will be pleased to advert to it, he may easily find that the Bishop's sovereign power of baptism follows not only naturally, but necessarily from most, if not every one of the prerogatives already accounted for. For example, is not baptizing an act, a principal act, of the sacerdotal office? But if it is, what more congruous, nay, what more necessary, than that it should be performed in dependence on the high priest? What more in-

[1] Quale est autem ut cum Paulum post Joannis baptisma iterato discipulos suos baptizasse videamus; nos eos qui ab hæresi ad Ecclesiam veniunt, post illicitam et profanam eorum tinctionem baptizare dubitemus? Nisi si *his Episcopis*, de quibus nunc, minor fuit Paulus; ut *hi* quidem possint per solam *manus impositionem* venientibus hæreticis dare Spiritum sanctum: Paulus autem idoneus non fuerit, qui ab Joanne baptizatis Spiritum sanctum per *manus impositionem* daret, nisi eos prius Ecclesiæ baptismo baptizasset. Ep. 75, p. 221.

[2] Nos etiam illos quos *hi* qui prius in Ecclesiæ Catholica *Episcopi* fuerant, et postmodum sibi potestatem clericæ ordinationis assumentes baptizaverant, pro non baptizatis habendos judicavimus. *Ibid.* p. 227.

congruous or inconsistent with all the laws of order and government, than that any inferior, subordinate, dependent pastor should have a privilege to add to the number, or admit to the immunities or advantages of the flock, without the allowance of the chief pastor? If the Bishop was the judge, the one judge, the one judge that represented Christ, *i. e.* at least if he was the chief judge in all matters relating to his own district, what equity or reason can allow that, within this his district, any person should have the prerogative of judging who was fit to be admitted to the liberties and joined to the society of those whose chief judge he was, without depending on him? without leave obtained from him? What can make it reasonable or accountable that inferior mariners should receive passengers into the ship without the allowance of the master? Or that any in the family should admit any person whatsoever to the franchises of sons, without the consent of the father of the family? Or that inferior magistrates or officers without the sovereign's allowance should naturalize subjects? How is it possible to account how Bishops should have been successors to the Apostles in the supreme administration of the government of the visible Church, if such a signal act of government could have been performed without dependence on them? G[ilbert] R[ule himself does not allow his imaginary unfixed Presbyters to baptize, nor consecrate the Eucharist, yea, nor preach a sermon in any Presbyterian parish without the parish minister's allowance, and I would gladly know if he has better reasons for it than these I have now mentioned for the Bishop's sovereign power in baptism, according to the Cyprianic principles. And

LXIV.—This way of reasoning will still appear more cogent and concluding if we consider who they were who in those times were to be baptized. They were not only the children of Christian parents; had they been no other, perhaps a general canon or constitution appointing all infants descended of Christian parents under no ecclesiastical censure, to be baptized, without any further inquiry, might have been sufficient. Such as are strangers to ecclesiastical antiquities, and take their measures from the customs of their own times and neighbourhood, finding that in Christian kingdoms such as these of Great Britain, (where it seldom

happens than any but infants are offered to the holy laver) Presbyters do commonly baptize infants in course, and without a special license from the Bishop for every particular administration of baptism; such, I say, at first hearing, perhaps may think it uncouth and surprising that Bishops should be vested with such a sovereign power of baptism; nay, some such persons (otherwise intelligent and well inclined to Episcopal government enough) I myself have had occasion to meet with; but all the uncouthness, all the disputableness of this prerogative must forthwith evanish when it is considered that in the Cyprianic Age multitudes of adult persons, who by their birth could pretend to no right to baptism, were every day deserting heathenish superstition and humbly supplicating to be received into the society of Christians. What more frequently mentioned in the monuments of those times than the Audientes, the Catechumeni—the Catechizati, as I remember Firmilian calls them? In every church, at least in every church planted in a populous city, there were particular masters set apart for the instruction of such Catechumeni; for forming, disposing, preparing them for baptism. Such were Pantænus, Clemens, Origen, Dionysius, &c. in Alexandria; such was Optatus at Carthage.[1] In short, nothing plainer from our martyr's writings, than that there were great numbers of such converts. So he tells us in his excellent discourse of "Mortality,"[2] and Ep. 66.[3] And so much we are told by Nemesianus, &c. Ep. 77.[4] And who has not heard the famous story of the success of Gregorius Thaumauturgus, St Cyprian's contemporary, who when he was made Bishop of Neocaserea in Cappadocia, found only seventeen Christians, and when he died,

[1] —Optatum inter lectores *doctorem Audientium* constituimus. Ep. 29, p. 55.

[2] Pavore mortalitatis et temporis accenduntur tepidi, constringuntur remissi, excitantur ignavi; desertores compelluntur, ut redeant; *gentiles* coguntur, ut *credant;* vetus fidelium populus ad quietem vocatur; ad aciem *recens* et *copiosus exercitus* robore fortiore colligitur—De Mort. p. 162.

[3] Subveniat Pupianus et sententiam, dicat, et judicium Dei et Christi in acceptum referat; ne tantus fidelium numerus, qui sub *nobis* accersitus est, sine spe salutis et pacis exisse videatur; Nec *novus credentium populus*, nullam per *nos* consecutus esse baptismi et Spiritus sancti gratiam judicetur. Ep. 66, p. 167.

[4] Semper magnis sensibus—literis tuis locutus es, Cypriane dilectissime, —sic nos in fide facis crescere, et de *seculo homines ad credulitatem accedere.* Ep. 77, p. 234.

left only seventeen heathens in that great city and its territory? Now,

LXV.—How many contradictions to all the laws, to all the congruities of order and policy, of discipline and government, of obvious reason and common sense, must it needs imply, that one should bear the characters of priest in chief, and ruler in chief, of pastor in chief, and judge in chief; in a word, have all the prerogatives accounted for above, and all for the conservation of the purity, the unity, the prosperity, the dignity, &c. of the society; and not only so, but bear all these characters, and possess all those prerogatives in such sort as to be peculiarly and singularly accountable to our Great Lord and Master for all these sacred interests of the Church, and yet that men of age, who for the former tract of their life had, both by principle and practice, been avowed enemies of the society, should without him, nay, perhaps in opposition to him, and whether he would or not, have been received into the society and admitted to the privileges of it? I say in opposition to him. For how presumable is it, that every day it would have been so, if Presbyters might have baptized without him? Are we not told that, *de facto*, there was such a principle of malice and grudge, such a propensity to independency in some of the Presbyters of Carthage as prompted them to absolve the lapsers without their Bishop's knowledge or allowance? Are we not taught that this their presumption was notoriously against all the then canons and customs of the Church? And that not only by Bishops, but by all Catholic Christians, Presbyters as well as others, they were condemned for it all the world over? How clever would such Presbyters have been at baptizing without him, if they might have done it canonically? What needs more? If it might have been done canonically, it is plain the most peaceable and sober Presbyters might have done it. For what should have stopped their doing of it if there was no legal restraints in the case? if they might have done it lawfully? There seems to me to be so much plain demonstration in what I have said, that I am apt to think that G[ilbert] R[ule] when he humbles himself to consider it, will find himself obliged to confess that no more needed be added on this subject. But I have resolved once

for all, to assert this Episcopal prerogative, and therefore seeing I have them, I shall not grudge to give him some more arguments for it, particularly

LXVI.—How many plain testimonies might be collected from our martyr's writings to this purpose? *e. g.* just now I transcribed one to prove that there were many converted from heathenism to Christianity in the days of his Episcopacy.[1] And a testimony it is which serves with equal force to prove the Bishop's sovereign power of baptism. Pupianus had alleged (as has been observed before) that our martyr was no Bishop. Our martyr musters up a great many arguments in his own vindication; among them there is this one, *ab absurdo*, as they call it. If he was not a true Bishop, if he had not a true title to the Episcopal chair, it would necessarily follow that none of those who, in the district he had pretended to be Bishop of, had been converted to Christianity, had been either baptized or confirmed. This is undeniably his argument. Now, it is certain he by himself had not baptized all those who had been converted during those six years. Two of the six were the years of his retirement; all which time he was not within his district to baptize them. Besides, who questions that in those days Presbyters, and even Deacons, were frequently, perhaps ordinarily, the actual administrators of baptism? Now I ask, how is it possible to make his argument conclude the intended absurdity, without supposing him to have had the sovereign power of baptism, and that his Presbyters and Deacons did not administer it but in subordination to him, in dependence on him, and by allowance from him? Upon this supposition it doth indeed conclude it irresistibly, but I must leave it to G[ilbert] R[ule] to show how it could possibly conclude it without this supposition, for it will not do for me. Twenty more such testimonies, obvious in our martyr's writings, it were easy to insist on.

LXVII.—As easy it were to adduce the as plain testimonies of many of his contemporaries, *v. g.* Nemesianus à Thubunis, in the very beginning of his suffrage, in the venerable Council of Carthage, anno 256, reasons against the validity of the baptisms performed by heretics or schis-

[1] Sect. 64.

matics from this very topic, that their *Præpositi*, their Bishops, were false Christs and false prophets [1] Let G[ilbert] R[ule] try if he can put the argument in form, without taking in the Bishop's sovereign power in baptism. "I decree (says Secundinus à Cedias) that those who flee from the snares of heretics to the Church be baptized by us."[2] *By us*, says he, meaning Catholic Bishops, as contra distinguished from all other clergymen, Presbyters as well as others; for such were all those to whom he directed his discourse — none but Bishops, as shall be shown hereafter,[3] had decisive voices in the Council, and to none but Bishops did those who voted direct their discourses when they gave their suffrages. This is a key I advise G[ilbert] R[ule] to make use of if he would come to the true sense and purpose of many of the suffrages contained in the records of that Council, *e. g.* the suffrage of Nonoratus à Thucca, which runs to this purpose—"seeing Christ is the truth, we ought to follow the truth rather than custom: and therefore let us with the baptism of the Church sanctify those who come to us from heresy, because, without, they could receive nothing.[4]" And "we ought not so to deceive heretics by our presumption, (says Secundianus à Thambeis) as to give them occasion when the day of judgment comes, to impute it to us, that such as were not baptized in the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ, and so came short of the remission of sins, were not baptized by us, nor obtained the indulgence of the Divine favour.[5]" In both these suffrages, as well as Secundianus's

[1] Baptisma quod dant hæretici et schismatici, non esse verum; ubique in Scripturis sanctis declaratum est. Quoniam ipsi *Præpositi* eorum falsi Christi sunt et falsi prophetæ.—Suff. 5.

[2] —Censeo eos qui de insidiis hæreticorum confugiunt ad Ecclesiam, baptizandos esse à *nobis*, qui amici appellati sumus Dei de ejus dignatione. Suff. 11.

[3] Infra, cap. 7.

[4] Cum Christus veritas sit, magis veritatem quam consuetudinem sequi debemus, ut hæreticos qui ideo ad *nos* veniunt, quia *foris* nihil accipere potuerunt, Ecclesiæ baptismo sanctificemus. Suff. 77.

[5] Non debemus hæreticos nostra præsumtione decipere, ut in Ecclesia Domini nostri Jesu Christi non baptizati, ac per hoc remissionem peccatorum non consecuti, cum judicii dies venerit *nobis* imputent, quod per *nos* non sint baptizati, et indulgentiam Divinæ gratiæ consecuti. Propter quod, cum sit una Ecclesia, et unum baptisma, quando ad *nos* convertuntur, simul cum Ecclesia, et Ecclesiæ baptismum consequantur. Suff. 80.

and divers others, I do affirm, Catholic Bishops are always meant by the pronoun *us*, so frequently repeated in them; Catholic Bishops, I say, as those who were vested with the sovereign power of baptism. Would you have yet more? Then,

LXVIII.—What can be plainer than the suffrage of Confessor Saturninus, à Thucca? "Though the Gentiles worship idols," says he, "yet they know and confess the Great God, the Father, and Creator: against this Great God, Marcion blasphemes, yet some are not ashamed to ratify Marcion's baptism. How can such *Priests* either hold or vindicate the *Priesthood* of *God*, who communicate with God's enemies without baptizing them?"[1] I need not, I think, be at pains here to prove that by *Priests*, he meant *Bishops*, or, by the *Priesthood* of *God*, the *Episcopal office:* of the signification of these terms, in the dialect of those times, we have had enough already.[2] Saturninus has indeed here given us a pretty good definition of a Bishop, viz. that he is the *Priest*, whose province it is to defend and maintain the *Priesthood* of *God*, and who has the power of admitting to the communion of the Church. And this helps us with another key for opening up the meaning of a great many more of the suffrages of that venerable Council, particularly, all those wherein Bishops are represented as having the power of receiving into the communion of the Church, for if they had that power, common sense could not but infer that they had the sovereign power of baptism: and of suffrages, either plainly affirming, or undoubtedly implying, that they had that power, you have a specimen on the margin.[3]

[1] Gentiles quamvis idola colant, tamen summum Deum Patrem creatorem cognoscunt et confitentur. In hunc Marcion blasphemat, et quidam non erubescunt Marcionis baptismum probare, quo modo tales *sacerdotes*, *sacerdotium Dei* aut servant aut vindicant, qui hostes Dei non baptizant, et sic illis *communicant?* Suff. 52.

[2] Sect. 33, &c.

[3] Sicut cæcus cæcum ducens simul in foveam cadunt, ita hæreticus hæreticum baptizans simul in mortem cadunt: Et ideo hæreticus baptizandus est et innovandus, ne *nos* vivi mortuis communicemus. Felix à Bagai, Suff. 12.

Dativus à Badis dixit—"*Nos* quantum in *nobis* est, hæreticis non *communicamus*, nisi baptizati in ecclesia fuerint." Suff. 15.

Privatus à Susibus dixit—"Qui hæreticorum baptismum probat, quid aliud quam hæreticis communicat?" Suff. 20.

LXIX.—Two testimonies more before I leave this Council; one shall be the suffrage of Geminius à Furnis.—"Some of our *Colleagues*," says he, "may prefer heretics to themselves, but they must not prefer them to us; and therefore *we* hold what *we* have once decreed, viz.—that we ought to baptize those who come from heretics."[1] Let G[ilbert R[ule] remember what I have discoursed above,[2] and then let him tell me if they were any other than Bishops whom Bishop Geminius doth here call his *Colleagues*; but if they were only Bishops, only members of the Episcopal *College*, who, by ratifying heretical baptisms, preferred heretics to themselves, then I can refer it to any man to determine whether they were any other than Bishops who had the sovereign power of baptism. The other suffrage shall be that of Confessor Clarus à Mascula: we have had it before, but it deserves a repetition. "The determination of our Lord Jesus Christ," says he, "is manifest, for he *sent* his *Apostles*, and committed to *them alone* the power given him by His Father: to them *we* (Bishops) have *succeeded*, by the *same power* governing the Church of Christ, and *baptizing* the faith of believers; heretics therefore being *without*, and having neither the *power* nor the Church of Christ, can baptize nobody with his baptism."[3] If this testimony does

Victor à Gor dixit—"Cum peccata non nisi in Ecclesiæ baptismo remittantur, qui hæreticum *ad communicationem* sine baptismo *admittit*, utrumque contra rationem facit, nec hæreticos purgat, et Christianos inquinat." Suff. 40.

Aurelius ab Utica dixit—"Cum dicat Apostolus, non *communicandum* peccatis alienis, quid aliud quam peccatis alienis *communicat*, qui hæreticis sine Ecclesiæ baptismo *communicat?* Et ideo censeo baptizandos esse hæreticos ut accipiant remissam peccatorum, et sic illis *communicetur*." Suff. 41.

Marcellus à Zama dixit—"Cum peccata non nisi in Ecclesiæ baptismo remittantur, qui hæreticum non baptizat, peccatori *communicat*." Suff. 53.

Natalis ab Oea dixit—"Tam ego præsens, quam Pompeius Sabratensis, quam Dioga etiam Leptimagnensis, qui mihi mandaverunt corpore quidem absentes, spiritu præsentes, censemus quod *Collegæ* nostri; quod hæretici *communicationem* habere *nobiscum* non possunt, nisi—baptizati fuerint." Suff. 83, 84, 85.

[1] Quidem de *collegis* hæreticos præponere sibi possunt, nobis non possunt: et ideo quod semel decrevimus tenemus, ut ab hæreticis venientes baptizemus. Suff. 59.

[2] Supra, sect. 18, &c.

[3] Manifesta sententia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, *Apostolos* suos *mittentis et ipsis solis potestatem* à Patre sibi datam *permittentis, quibus nos successimus, eadem potestate* Ecclesiam Dei gubernantes, et credentium fidem *baptizantes*.

not prove that by this Father's (which were indeed the then common) principles, Bishops had the sovereign power of baptism, it is folly to think on proving any thing by testimonies.

LXX.—I am aware that divers of these testimonies which I have adduced may seem to be obscure, and to bring no great light to the main conclusion, to such as are strangers to the monuments of those times. I am unwilling to leave any in the dark; I desire, therefore, that recourse may be had to the next chapter,[1] where they may find as much as may satisfy them that I have not adduced so much as one testimony which was not proper for my purpose. And the same advertisement I give about another argument, which seems to me to be of no small force. It is this,

LXXI.—When any questions or any difficulties were started in those times concerning baptisms, Bishops, and Bishops alone, in their provincial synods, were the deciders and determinators of them. How could they have done so, if Presbyters had had an equal interest with them in the power of baptism? Were not Presbyters more numerous than Bishops? Our Presbyterian brethren cannot deny that they were. What scheme of order then,—what rule of government,—what possible congruity of reason, could have made it equitable, or rather what could possibly have covered the gross and staring absurdity of it, that a few should have had the monopoly of decisive voices, where so many were equally concerned? Will our brethren allow such a privilege to their moderators? Can it consist with the fundamental principles of Presbyterian government that moderators of Presbyteries, in their own right, and by their being such, should meet, in course, twice every year at stated times, in formal, stated, regulated synods, and decide controversies about matters wherein all Presbyters are as much interested as they? And this too, with this addition of affront to Presbyters, that as many of them as please may be present in those synods, but without the privilege of decisive voices, though they have equal right to it with the moderators themselves? This argument I am hopeful G[ilbert] R[ule] himself will acknowledge to be a

Et ideo hæretici qui nec potestatem *foris*, nec Ecclesiam Christi habent, neminem baptizare baptismo ejus possunt. Suff. 79.

[1] Sect. 20, &c.

plain demonstration of the Bishop's sovereign power in baptism in the Cyprianic age; if it shall be made appear that Bishops, as such, Bishops in their own right, and not by any delegation from their respective Presbyteries, did thus meet in synods in that age, and determine emergent controversies about baptism—determined them, I say, by themselves, by their own sole definite suffrages, and without allowing to Presbyters any interest in the definition. Now, for the full proof of this I refer him to the next chapter.[1] And yet let me tell him, it is not any penury of arguments that makes me lay so much stress on this I have just now named, for if it were needful, arguments might be brought from all quarters. Thus, for example,

LXXII.—What plainer demonstration of the Bishop's sovereign power in baptism can be reasonably required than we have in that remarkable epistle of Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, recorded by Eusebius.[2] The matter is this in short—There was a certain man who had been baptized in some heretical communion; he had deserted that communion, and come over to the communion of the Catholic Church of Alexandria; he had been received without any other baptism than that he had got while in heresy; he had lived very long in the communion of the Catholic Church of Alexandria, and been admitted to all the privileges of it; at last he had been present at the celebration of Catholic baptism in this Catholic communion. This puts him in great confusion; he is sensible that there is a vast difference between this Catholic baptism, and that which he had received, and he is apprehensive that he has never yet received the remission of sins; he has never yet been validly baptized, he comes, therefore, to Dionysius, then Bishop of Alexandria, he throws himself down at his feet, and makes the dolefullest lamentations imaginable, bewailing his miserable condition, and crying most passionately that he might be baptized with Catholic baptism, without which he thought himself in a lost condition. Dionysius does what he can to encourage him and quiet his conscience; he does not think it safe nor seasonable to baptize him after he had been for so many years a communicant; he therefore bids him take

[1] Chap. 7, sect. 20.

[2] H. E. L. 7, cap. 9.

heart and continue in the communion of the Church, and live as becomes a Christian, and he assures him all may be well enough with him. Now, I say, nothing can be brighter than the Bishop's sovereign power of baptism is in the account of this matter, which Dionysius himself gives by an Epistle to Xystus, Bishop of Rome. The afflicted man comes straight to Dionysius, and throws himself down at his feet, and represents his case to him; Dionysius does not at all act as a Presbyterian moderator in the matter. Though there was a goodly number of Presbyters belonging to the Church of Alexandria, as is evident from his own accounts,[1] yet he doth not convocate them, he doth not bring the case before them, he doth not either reserve or refer it to their decision. No such thing so much as insinuated in the whole account. Nay, no insinuation of so much as *consulting* them in the matter. He speaks all along of himself in the singular number, as being the only actor, and the only determiner of the case. The afflicted man (as I have said) comes to him, throws himself at his feet, cries to him for relief, that he may be sanctified and have the remission of his sins sealed to him by true Catholic baptism. He says he durst not baptize him, or he did not think fit to do it after the man had been so long a communicant, having been one not only before his own, but so far as he knew even before his predecessor Heraclas had been promoted to the Bishopric. He will not baptize him therefore, but allows him to continue as he is, and assures him he need not entertain doubts concerning his salvability, &c. And all this was so much Dionysius his own single conduct, as being Bishop in the matter, that he plainly tells Xystus he is not confident that the measure he had taken was absolutely right, and therefore he craves Xystus's advice and resolution in the matter. Let G[ilbert] R[ule] or any man consult Eusebius, and I am confident he shall find I have given a faithful account of the story; but if I have, let any reader judge if Dionysius has not had the sovereign power of baptism in the Church of Alexandria, a Church in which there was no small number of Presbyters.

LXXIII.—Nothing easier, as I have said, than thus to multiply arguments in confirmation of this Episcopal pre-

[1] See and compare Euseb. H. E. Lib. 7, cap. 11, 20, 22.

rogative; but that I may not turn over tedious to my reader, I shall now confine myself to the grand controversy which was agitated in St Cyprian's time, concerning heretical and schismatical baptisms. This controversy alone, when attended to with even but an ordinary application of mind, will afford us arguments enough. Indeed, the Bishop's sovereign power in baptism is all along supposed by the advocates on both sides in their whole management of it, particularly—1. It is supposed, or rather implicitly asserted by both in the very state of the controversy. 2. Both proceed upon the supposition of it in all their best arguments. And 3, It is most distinctly pointed out by both in one of the most remarkable results of the controversy.

LXXIV.—First, I say, the Bishop's sovereign power of baptism was supposed, or rather implicitly asserted by the advocates on both sides, in the very state of the controversy. The state of it was very plainly this—Stephen, Bishop of Rome, and his party, maintained, that by the evangelical law Catholic Bishops were bound to ratify heretical and schismatical baptisms, and to hold them as good and valid; and to admit such, as having been baptized by heretics or schismatics, deserted them and came over to the true Catholic communion, without giving them Catholic baptism, or using any other rite at their reception, than that of imposing the hand for the collation of the Holy Ghost. On the other hand, St Cyprian and those who sided with him maintained that Catholic Bishops were obliged to irritate all such baptisms, and hold them as void and null, and by consequence not straight to confirm, but first to baptize all such as having received no other than those false baptisms in those false and antichristian communions, left them and came over to the one, true, catholic, and only salutary communion. This, I say, was the true state of the controversy; and thus the Bishop's sovereign interest in baptism was evidently supposed in it by both parties, inasmuch as the question was, whether Bishops were bound to ratify or irritate such baptisms; for if it was their peculiar province to be the ratifiers or voiders of them, the consequence is irresistible, viz.—that they were vested with the sovereign power of baptism.

LXXV.—All therefore that can be requisite to complete the argument is, to prove that it was all along supposed by both parties that the Bishops were the persons to whom it belonged to ratify or irritate such baptisms. And this, though we had no more, might sufficiently appear from this one thing, that they were the Bishops who had the power to receive those who came from heresy or schism into the communion of the Church. By the constant current practice, by all the analogies of the government and discipline of those times, none could be received into the communion of the Church without the Bishops. Lapsers could not be reconciled without them, as we shall see hereafter, much less those who had been engaged in heresy or schism, crimes, by the principles of those times, more heinous and atrocious than lapsing itself. It might appear farther from this that the question was, whether imposing the hand for the collation of the Holy Ghost was sufficient? or whether baptism was also necessary? Now it is certain and acknowledged (as hereafter we shall learn) that if no more was necessary for their reception than such imposition of the hand, it being the Bishop's province to impose the hand for the collation of the Holy Ghost, he had the full power to receive them. By necessary consequence, he had the sovereign power of baptism, if baptism was also necessary for their reception; otherwise it should have entirely depended on him in the one case, but not in the other. Divers other such reasonings might be insisted on, but it is not needful; for indeed,

LXXVI.—We have abundance of plain and direct testimonies to prove that the ratification or reprobation of such baptisms belonged to the Bishops. What can be plainer than that which our martyr has in the beginning of his Epistle to Jubaianus?—"Thou hast written to me, dear brother," says he, "desiring to know my sentiment concerning the baptism of heretics: they, being out of the Church, assume to themselves that which they neither have right to, nor is in their power; their baptism, therefore, *we* cannot *ratify*, nor hold as valid, seeing it is certain that with them it is unlawful."[1] And again, in that same

[1] Scripsisti mihi, frater carissime, desiderans significari tibi motum animi nostri, quid nobis videatur de hæreticorum baptismo, qui *foris* positi

Epistle, " it would be no small nor inconsiderable matter, that we should yield to heretics, if we should own their baptisms to be valid."[1] And what can be more evident than that which he levels against Stephen and those other members of the Episcopal College who ratified heretical and schismatical baptisms, in his Epistle to Pompeius?—" We ought seriously to consider, dear brother, how it will consist with the fidelity and religion of the *sacerdotal* (*i. e.* the Episcopal) *office* which we bear, and how a *Priest* of *God* (or a Bishop) who ratifies and holds as valid the baptisms of blasphemers, will be able to answer for it at the Day of Judgment."[2] This, in all reason, might be enough, but we have much more, particularly

LXXVII.—St Cyprian, and those who sided with him, being very earnest to dissuade those to whom it belonged to ratify or reprobate baptisms from ratifying heretical or schismatical baptisms, have instanced in a great many characters which they did bear, or a great many reduplications under which they might be considered, to infer from them that they ought not to ratify such baptisms. I shall here give a specimen of such reduplication, and let G[ilbert] R[ule] consider them, and lay them together, and then say, if he can, that they are not generally such as were peculiar to Bishops. 1. They pleaded that those whose province it was to ratify or reprobate baptisms ought to reprobate, and not to ratify heretical or schismatical baptisms, as being those who had and held Churches,[3] which, as I have already shewn,[4] is a phrase in the dialect of those times equivalent to that of holding Bishoprics. 2. They ought not to ratify such baptisms, as being those who, by the Divine favour, were entrusted with the administration of the Priesthood

et extra Ecclesiam constituti vindicant sibi rem nec *juris sui*, nec *potestatis*, quod *nos* nec *ratum* possumus, nec legitimum judicare—Ep. 73, p. 198.

[1] Neque enim parva res hæreticis et modica conceditur, quando à *nobis* (Episcopis Catholicis, quales erant tam Jubaianus quam Cyprianus) baptisma eorum *in acceptum refertur*—*Ibid.* p. 203.

[2] Quo in loco considerandum est, frater carissime, pro fide et religione *sacerdotalis loci* quo fungimur, an constare *sacerdotis Dei* ratio in die judicii possit, *asserentis et probantis, et in acceptum referentis* blasphemantium baptismata—Ep. 74, p. 214.

[3] Ep. 69, p. 181, vide infra sect. 79.

[4] Cap. 5, sect. 30.

of God.[1] And, 3, as those who were vested with the sacerdotal authority and power.[2] Both which reduplications I have likewise shewn above,[3] belonged to Bishops in a peculiar manner. 4. They ought not to ratify them, as they were successors to the Apostles in the Ecclesiastical supremacy;[4] 5. as being those who presided in the Church,[5] 6. and were the governors, the steersmen who sat at the helm of the ship;[6] 7. as those who by their station were obliged to be the chief champions for the truth of God,[7] 8. and the chief maintainers of the Divine honour,[8] 9. and the chief defenders of the faith, 10. and the great conservators of unity,[9] 11. and the chief administrators of discipline;[10] as being those, 12. to whom the custody of the Spouse of Christ was chiefly committed,[11] and, 13. those

[1] "Quare qui cum Domino sumus, et unitatem Domini tenemus, et secundum ejus dignationem *sacerdotium ejus* in Ecclesia *administramus*, quæcunque adversarii ejus, et antichristi faciunt, repudiare et rejicere, et pro profanis habere debemus." Testimonium est 32 Episcoporum, Ep. 70, p. 192.

[2] "Ad *sacerdotalem auctoritatem*, et ad Ecclesiæ Catholicæ unitatem pariter et dignitatem" pertinet——"Hæreticos et schismaticos—baptizari oportere." Ep. 72, p. 196. Supra, sect. 33, &c.—[This quotation is not strictly accurate, though quite consistent with the original.—E.]

[3] Vide etiam Ep. 73, p. 198. [4] Ep. 73, p. 201, 202, fusè.

[5] Non enim vincimur quando offeruntur nobis meliora, sed instruimur; maximè in his, quæ ad Ecclesiæ unitatem pertinent, et spei fidei et nostræ veritatem; ut *nos sacerdotes Dei*, et Ecclesiæ ejus de ipsius dignatione *Præpositi*, sciamus remissam peccatorum non nisi in Ecclesia dari posse.—Ep. 71, p. 195, 196.

[6] Hæreticorum Baptismata esse repudianda,—"Agrippinus—cum ceteris co-episcopis suis qui illo tempore —— Ecclesiam Dei *gubernabant*, statuit." —Ep. 71, p. 196. Vide plura in Martyris nostri proloquio ad Conc. Carth.

[7] Hæc (Catholica Ecclesia) est una quæ tenet et possidet omnem sponsi sui et Domini potestatem: In hac (Episcopi) *præsidemus*, pro honore ejus atque unitate pugnamus, hujus et gratiam pariter et gloriam fidei virtute defendimus. Nos de Divino permissu rigamus sitientem Dei populum, *nos* custodimus terminos vitalium fontium. Si possessionis ergo nostræ jus tenemus, si sacramentum unitatis agnoscimus; cur prævaricatores veritatis, cur proditores unitatis existimamur? Ep. 73, p. 203,

[8] Vide Ep. 74, p. 214, fusè, ubi Stephanum Romanum, Episcopos qui hæreticorum Baptismata rata habere nollent, abstinentem serio perstringens noster, inter alia hæc habet—"dat *honorem* Deo, qui hæreticorum *amicus*, et inimicus Christianorum, *sacerdotes Dei*, veritatem Christi, et Ecclesiæ unitatem tuentes abstinendos putat.

[9] Ep. 73, 203. Ep. 74.

[10] Vide supra, sect. 76, [2].

[11] Christus Dominus et Deus noster ad Patrem proficiscens, *sponsam* suam

who were set over the camp of Christ as the chief officers of his army[1]—14. as the heads of Christian communion[2]—15. as members of a college peculiar to themselves—a college of chief governors—a college on which to ratify heretical baptisms, was a mighty reflection.[3] Nay, 16. they were obliged not to ratify them as being the guardians of baptism[4]—and, 17. as the very heads of it.[5] Under all these reduplications (and perhaps many more) did those lie, who had the power of ratifying or repudiating baptisms: and by virtue of them, they were obliged to repudiate heretical and schismatical baptisms by the principles of St Cyprian and his contemporaries. Now I hope I need not tell G[ilbert] R[ule] over again, that if they were the Bishops who had thus the power to ratify or reprobate baptisms, it must follow by necessary consequence that they had the sovereign power of baptism.

LXXVIII.—*Secondly*, The Bishops' sovereign power in baptism is farther manifest in the arguments insisted on by the advocates on both sides. The Stephanians did indeed muster up a great many arguments for the validity of heretical baptisms. They pleaded that heretics themselves were not so nice as to baptize those who came over from other heresies to their communion—that all catechumeni who died unbaptized were not therefore damned, much less those who had received baptism though from heretics or schismatics—that to refuse those who were willing to forsake heresy or schism unless they would consent to be rebaptized,

nobis (Episcopis) commendavit : utrumne eam incorruptam et inviolatam custodiemus.—Con. Carth. Suff. 49. Vide paria, Suff. 61, et mox infra. [6]

[1] Plurimis adversus hæreticorum baptismata prolatis argumentis, sic tandem Pompeium collegam suum alloquitur noster.—" Quod si est apud nos, frater dilectissime, Dei timor, si tenor prævalet fidei, si custodimus Christi præcepta, si incorruptam atque inviolatam sponsæ ejus sanctitatem tuemur——quasi fideles Dei milites, qui Deo fide et religione sincera militamus, *commissa nobis divinitus castra* fideli virtute servemus." Ep. 74, p. 214, 215.

[2] Vide supra, sect. 16.

[3] Vide Ep. 71, p. 191, fusè, et supra, sect. 76.

[4] Non est ergo, frater carissime, quod hæreticis cedendum (nos Episcopi Catholici) existimemus, ut baptisma quod non nisi uni, et soli Ecclesiæ datum sit prodendum putemus. Ep. 73, p. 202.

[5] *Nos* autem qui Ecclesiæ unius caput et radicem tenemus, pro certo scimus et fidimus, nihil illic extra Ecclesiam licere, et baptismatis, quod est unum, *caput nos* (Episcopos Catholicos) esse. Ep. 73, p. 198.

was to obstruct their coming over—that those who had been baptized by Philip in Samaria were not rebaptized by the Apostles when they came among them, Acts viii. 14, &c. and that they received imposition of hands only for the collation of the Holy Ghost — that though some in St Paul's time preached Christ out of envy and strife, *i. e.* from a contentious and schismatical humour, yet he was pleased that Christ was preached—Phil. i. 15, &c.—that some schismatics, particularly the Novatians, observed the due form, and proposed the due interrogatories in baptism—that the efficacy of the sacraments did not depend on the orthodoxy or the charity of the administrators, and that if persons were baptized in the name of Christ any manner of way, it was no matter who baptized them. But the main argument, as I have already accounted,[1] was, that Stephen, Bishop of Rome, had had it handed down to him by constant tradition from St Peter and St Paul, founders of the Church of Rome, that whoso came over from heretical or schismatical communions to the communion of the true Catholic Church should not be rebaptized; and that all his predecessors, Bishops of Rome, since the days of those Apostles, had always conformed their practice to such unquestionable tradition, they had always ratified, never repudiated heretical or schismatical baptisms. This, I say, was the main argument; now, who sees not that this argument did manifestly lodge the sovereign power of baptism in the Bishops? On the other hand,

LXXIX.—The arguments of the Cyprianists, as we have fuller accounts of them, so proportionably they afford greater light to our present purpose. Let us try it in some instances—1. St Cyprian in his 69th Epistle written to Magnus, the first of those in which he managed the controversy, rejects the baptisms of Novatianus upon this very score, that he was not a Bishop. Cornelius was the only true Bishop of Rome; no valid baptisms could be performed in that Church but by him, or in dependence on him; Novatianus disowned all dependence on him, separated from him, and pretended to be Bishop of Rome in opposition to him; his baptisms, therefore, could not be valid; they could not

[1] Vide supra, sect. 10, &c.

be true Christian Sacraments. That this is the true purpose of our martyr's argument, is evident from his own words which you have on the margin.[1] Again, 2. In that same Epistle, these three—*to set up an Episcopal chair*, *to assume a primacy*, and *to pretend to a sovereign or independent power of baptizing and offering*, *i. e.* consecrating the Holy Eucharist—he plainly makes equivalent phrases. By all three, expressing the one crime of Novatianus in standing up as an antibishop to Cornelius.[2] In a word, 3. In that same Epistle he reasons against the verity of Novatianus's baptisms from this very topic, that 4. He was not the *one pastor*—and 5, From this, that all his ministrations were of the same kidney with Korah, Dathan, and Abiram's, which were wicked, damnable, and naught, because performed in opposition to the High Priest Aaron.[3] Can there be clearer arguments for anything? But I have not done,

LXXX.—For, 6. another argument insisted on by our martyr and those of his party, is plainly, that it was unaccountable in their *Colleagues* (and none but Bishops were such) to ratify heretical or schismatical baptisms;—it was a prostitution of the honour of both the Catholic Church and the Episcopal College.[4] 7. To approve and ratify heretical baptisms naturally tended to hinder people to come over from heresy or schism; to come, I say, and make their

[1] Qui dicit apud Novatianum baptizari et sanctificari aliquem posse, prius ostendat et doceat Novatianum in Ecclesia esse, et Ecclesiæ *præsidere*. Ecclesia enim una est, quæ una et *intus* esse et *foris* non potest. Si enim apud Novatianum est, apud Cornelium non fuit. Si apud Cornelium fuit, qui Fabiano Episcopo legitima ordinatione successit——Novatianus in Ecclesia non est, nec *Episcopus* computari potest, qui Evangelica et Apostolica traditione contemta, nemini succedens, à se ipso ortus est; *habere* namque aut *tenere* Ecclesiam nullo modo posset, qui ordinatus in Ecclesia non est. Ep. 69, p. 181.

[2] Hi (Novatianenses) Ecclesiam scindentes—*cathedram* sibi *constituere*, *et primatum assumere*, *et baptizandi* atque offerendi *licentiam* vindicare conantur. *Ibid.* p. 184.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 184.

[4] Nescio et enim qua præsumtione ducuntur quidam de *Collegis* nostris, ut putent eos qui apud hæreticos tincti sunt, quando ad nos venerint, baptizari non oportere—— porro autem quidam de *Collegis nostris* malunt hæreticis honorem dare, quam nobis consentire. Ep. 71, p. 193, et passim.

humble addresses to the Catholic Bishops to be received into the bosom and communion of the Catholic Church. It encouraged them to think themselves safe and secure enough in either heresy or schism. For if there they had true baptism, why not likewise a true Church, and true remission of sins.[1] How naturally both these arguments infer the Bishop's sovereign power in baptism must be obvious to every reader. And what can be more irresistible than, 8. that reasoning made use of by a whole Synod of African Bishops? Ep. 70.—"It is necessary (say they) that he who is baptized be anointed; but heretics cannot anoint, because they cannot sanctify or consecrate the oil, and they cannot sanctify the oil, because they have not an altar to sanctify it on."[2] The force of which argument lies plainly here, that no valid baptisms could be performed but in dependence of the *one altar*, of the *one priest*, the Bishop. This *altar* could be but *one*. It could not, therefore, be among heretics or schismatics. What *altars* soever these could have, was not the *one*, but *another*, and a *false altar*; they could not have a *true* one, for that could be but *one*, and that *one true* one belonged to the true Bishop.

LXXXI.—How easy were it to mention divers other arguments insisted on by the Cyprianists, from which the Bishop's sovereign power of baptism might be as naturally inferred as from these I have mentioned? But I shall mention only two more. 9. Then they pleaded that heretics could not baptize because they could not ordain; which

[1] "Nam si viderint (hæretici et schismatici) judicio ac sententia *nostra* (Episcoporum, hi quippe soli in causis hujuscemodi, judicabant, sententiam stringebant, decernebant, statuebant, &c.) id *decerni et statui*, ut baptisma justum et legitimum computetur quo *illic* (in hæresi vel schismate), baptizantur; putabunt, se Ecclesiam quoque et cetera Ecclesiæ munera justè et legitimè possidere; nec erit causa *veniendi ad nos*, quando habentes baptisma, habere videantur et cetera. Porro autem cum cognoscunt baptisma nullum *foris* esse, nec remissam peccatorum extra Ecclesiam dari posse, avidius ad *nos* et promtius properant, et munera ac dona Ecclesiæ matris *implorant*." Ep. 73, p. 209. His paria sæpius occurrunt.

[2] Ungi quoque necesse est eum, qui baptizatus sit——Porro autem Eucharistia est unde baptizati unguntur, oleum in *altari* sanctificatum. Sanctificare autem non potuit olei creaturam, qui nec *altare habuit*, nec Ecclesiam. Unde nec unctio spiritalis apud hæreticos potest esse, quando constet oleum sanctificari, et Eucharistiam fieri apud illos omnino non posse. Ep. 70, p. 190, 191.

must needs import that the power of ordination, and the sovereign power of baptism, are inseparable. Firmilian's words are most express to this purpose.—" No heretics," says he, " having cut off themselves from the Church of God can have any power or grace, for all power and grace is confined to the Church where these elders do preside or govern who have the power of *baptizing*, *imposing* the hand (or confirming) and *ordaining*. For as an heretic cannot ordain, &c. so neither can he *baptize*."[1] And it is evident Novatus à Thamugade, in his suffrage in the Council of Carthage, proceeded on the same hypothesis when he voted that all heretics and schismatics returning to the Church should be *baptized*, and that those who *seemed* to have been *ordained* in those false communions should be received only among laicks ;[2] *i. e.* that heretical ordinations should be reprobated as well as heretical baptisms. Nay, a whole African synod of Bishops made a decree to the same purpose, as appears from their synodical Epistle written to Stephen, Bishop of Rome.[3] Now, I can leave it to the learned world to determine whether the power of ordination was not, by the principles of the Cyprianic Age, lodged in the persons of the Bishops.

LXXXII.—But has not G[ilbert] R[ule] answered all my arguments which I insisted on, to prove that in St Cyprian's time the Bishop was possessed of the power of ordination? Not one of them to any purpose. It is not worth while to insist minutely on his answers, the reader may competently judge of his performance by one instance. I proposed one, and that the only instance produceable,

[1] —Hæretici, si se ab Ecclesia Dei sciderint, nihil habere potestatis aut gratiæ possunt; quando omnis potestas et gratia in Ecclesia constituta sit, ubi *præsident* majores natu, qui et *baptizandi* et manum imponendi et *ordinandi* possident potestatem. Hæretico enim sicut *ordinare* non licet, nec manum imponere; ita nec *baptizare*. Ep. 75, p. 221.

[2] —Secundum testimonium Scripturarum, et secundum decretum *Collegarum* nostrorum sanctissimæ memoriæ virorum, omnes schismaticos et hæreticos qui ad Ecclesiam conversi sunt, *baptizari:* sed et eos qui *ordinati videbantur*, inter laicos recipi. Con. Carth. Suff. 4.

[3] Addimus plane et adjungimus, (huic nempe nostro de hæreticorum baptizmate rejiciendo, decreto), consensu et auctoritate communi, ut etiam si qui Presbyteri aut Diaconi, qui vel in Ecclesia Catholica prius ordinati fuerint——vel apud hæreticos à pseudoepiscopis et antichristis contra Christi dispositionem *profana ordinatione* promoti sint, eos quoque hac conditione suscipi cum revertuntur, ut communicent laici. Ep. 72, p. 197.

which could be pretended to have been an instance of an ordination not performed by a Bishop in the days of St Cyprian. The instance of Felicissimus his being made a deacon by the interest of Novatus, who was only a Presbyter. I shewed, to a demonstration, that it could do our Presbyterian brethren no service. I shewed it was impossible to make it appear that Novatus ordained Felicissimus. I deduced the matter thus—St Cyprian's words are, "Ipse (Novatus) est qui Felicissimum satellitem suum Diaconum, nec permittente me, nec sciente, sua factione et ambitione constituit."[1] These words, I said, did not in the least import that Novatus ordained Felicissimus. They imported no more than that he had so much interest and influence as to get him ordained without St Cyprian's knowledge or allowance. I gave this reason for my saying so, that St Cyprian, in that same Epistle, says of that same Novatus that he went next to Rome, and there made a Bishop. His words are "qui istic (Carthagini) adversus Ecclesiam Diaconum fecerat, illic Episcopum *fecit*." I said there was here evidently as much said for Novatus his ordaining a Bishop at Rome as for his ordaining a deacon at Carthage. But then I added that it was certain Novatus did not ordain the Bishop at Rome; for Cornelius tells us expressly that Novatianus (who was the man) was ordained by three Bishops.[2] By good consequence I said it was impossible to prove from St Cyprian's words that Novatus ordained Felicissimus. Now, consider G[ilbert] R[ule]'s answer to this reasoning, it is even not one word more, nor one word less than this; [Cyprian's words are plain, "Felicissimum Diaconum sua factione constituit."][3] Now, I will not say that this answer smells of brass, or is the brood of brow; I shall say no more than that as zealous as G[ilbert] R[ule] has been to represent me as a Papist, yet there is not a syllable in all my book that looks more Popish like than this answer of his. For my part I never saw any thing look liker the renowned plea commonly used in defence of transubstantiation against all the demonstrations which were ever brought against it. [Our Saviour's words are plain—HOC EST CORPUS MEUM, this is my body], and so I leave it.

[1] Ep. 52. [2] Euseb. E. H. Lib. 6, cap. 43. [3] Cyp. Bp. Exd. sect. 40, p. 55.

LXXXIII.—The other argument insisted on by the Cyprianists, and which most clearly proves the Bishop's sovereign power in baptism, is, 10. that none had power to baptize who had not likewise the power of giving the Holy Ghost by the imposition of the hand; which administration I shall hereafter presume, for brevity, to call confirmation. No argument more frequently insisted on, or more keenly pressed by them. The Stephanians conceded that heretics and schismatics could not confirm; from which concession the Cyprianists reasoned to this purpose, that if heretics and schismatics could not confirm, neither could they baptize; if they could baptize, they could also confirm. This reasoning St Cyprian has in his 69th Epistle to Magnus,[1] in his 73d to Jubaianus,[2] and in his 74th to Pompeius.[3] Firmillian has it thrice in his Epistle to St Cyprian,[4] Nemesianus à Thubunis,[5] Successus ab Abbir Germaniciana,[6] and

[1] "Qui (baptismatum hæreticorum schismaticorumve patroni) quoniam pertinaces alias et indociles, vel hoc tamen confitentur; quod universi sive hæretici, sive schismatici non habeant Spiritum sanctum, et ideo baptizare quidem possint, dare autem *Spiritum sanctum* non possint; in hoc ipso à nobis tenentur, ut ostendamus nec baptizare omnino eos posse, qui non habeunt Spiritum sanctum." Quibusdam deinde ad probationem interjectis Scripturarum testimoniis, sic pergit—"Itaque qui hæreticis sive schismaticis patrocinantur, respondeant nobis, habeant ne *Spiritum sanctum* an non habeant? si habent, cur illic (in hæresi vel schismate) baptizatis quando ad nos veniunt, *manus imponitur* ad accipiendum *Spiritum sanctum*, cum jam utique illic acceptus sit, ubi si fuit, dari potuit? Si autem *foris* cuncti hæretici et schismatici non habent *Spiritum sanctum*, et ideo apud nos *manus imponitur*, ut hic (in Catholica Ecclesia) accipiatur, quod illic non est, nec dari potest; manifestum est nec remissionem peccatorum dari per eos posse, quos constat Spiritum sanctum non habere.—Ep. 69, p. 185.

[2] Quod si secundum pravam fidem baptizari aliquis foris, et remissam peccatorum consequi potuit; secundum eandem fidem consequi et *Spiritum sanctum* potuit; et non est necesse venienti *manum imponi* ut *Spiritum sanctum* consequatur et *signetur*. Aut utrumque enim fides *foris potuit*, aut neutrum eorum, qui *foris* fuerat, accepit. Ep. 73, p. 201.

[3] —Si effectum baptismi majestati nominis tribuunt, ut qui in nomine Jesu Christi ubicunque et quomodocunque baptizantur, innovati et sanctificati judicentur; cur non in ejusdem Christi nomine illic et *manus* baptizato *imponitur* ad accipiendum *Spiritum sanctum*? Cur eadem ejusdem majestas nominis non prævalet *manus impositione*, quam valuisse contendunt in baptismi sanctificatione? Nam si potest quis extra Ecclesiam natus templum Dei fieri; cur non possit super templum et Spiritus sanctus infundi? Ep. 74, p. 213.

[4] *Vide* Ep. 75, p. 221, 223, 226.

[5] Con. Carth. Suff. 5.

[6] Con. Carth. Suff. 16.

Secundinus à Carpis,[1] insist on it in their suffrages in the Council of Carthage, whereof Cyprian was preses, anno 256. It is insisted on by a whole prior provincial council of Bishops in their synodical Epistle, which is the 70th among St Cyprian's.[2] I have transcribed some of their testimonies on the margin, whereby the reader may sufficiently understand the argument. The force of it lies visibly in this, that the powers of baptism and confirmation were inseparable. He who could perform one, could perform both. He that could not perform both, could perform neither. And the force of my argument deduced from this reasoning lies here, that the Bishop had the same power of baptizing which he had of confirming; but it is certain that by the principles of those times he had the sovereign power of confirmation—I say the sovereign power of it; for though it be clear as light in the monuments of those times, that all confirmations were ordinarily performed by the Bishop in person, yet I will not say that he was so strictly bound to do so as that he could not have delegated Presbyters and perhaps Deacons, to have performed it by commission, and in dependence on him. I have not yet discovered in the nature of the thing any thing binding up his hands from giving such delegations or commissions in the case of confirmation more than in baptism, consecrating the Eucharist or reconciling penitents. And it is manifest that such delegations, or deputations, are so far from amounting to any diminution of his sovereign power, that, on the contrary, they are rather arguments and illustrations of it.

LXXXIV.—What I have said might in all reason be enough on this argument. But having to do with G[ilbert] R[ule] I find myself obliged to do two things, viz.—1. To shew what St Cyprian and his contemporaries meant by the imposition of the hand for the collation of the Holy

[1] Hæretici Christiani sunt, an non? Si Christiani sunt: cur in Ecclesia Dei non sunt? Si Christiani non sunt, quomodo Christianos faciunt?—— Unde constat, super filios alienos—Spiritum sanctum per *manus impositionem* tantummodo non posse descendere, cum manifestum sit hæreticos baptisma non habere. Suff. 24.

[2] Neque enim potest pars illic (in hæresi) inanis esse, et pars prævalere. Si baptizare potuit, potuit et Spiritum Sanctum dare: si autem Spiritum sanctum dare non potest, quia foris constitutus cum Spiritu Sancto non est, nec *baptizare* venientem potest——Ep. 70, p. 191.

Ghost. 2. To shew, that by the principles of those times the ministry of this rite belonged to the Bishop. Both these tasks G[ilbert] R[ule] has prescribed to me, for I had affirmed[1] that by the practice of the Church in those days the Bishop was the sole administrator of it. And G[ilbert] R[ule][2] has said—" That he knows not what St Cyprian meant by such imposition of the hand." And whatever it was, " that my arguments were not sufficient to prove that the ministry of it was peculiar to the Bishop."

LXXXV.—1. G[ilbert] R[ule] pretends not to know what St Cyprian meant by the imposition of the hand for the collation of the Holy Ghost, and yet he is very sure " it is not the confirmation which in our days goes under that name." In short G[ilbert] R[ule] discoursing this point, most confidently affirms that which is impossible for him to make appear to be true, and he seriously professes not to know that which may easily be known. He most confidently affirms that which is impossible for him to make appear to be true. Take it in his own words, for as I always hate, so here I have no temper, to be injurious to him. " Confirmation of the adult," says he, " who in their infancy had been baptized, at first was no more but after diligent instructing them in the grounds of religion, bringing them to the pastor of the Church (and probably before the Eldership) that they might be tried in their proficiency, and so declared fit to receive the Lord's Supper, in which nothing can be blamed. Afterward it came to be more theatrically managed, and imposition of hands was the ceremony by which it was set off, till at last it came to be esteemed a sacrament. Now, when it was thus turned from the simplicity of God's ordinance to be a pompous device of man, (not a few of which were crept into the Church, in, yea before Cyprian's age) it is not strange if they committed not the managing of it to all to whom Christ had committed his ordinances, but to one of their own choosing. Our debate is whether the Bishop had the sole power of managing any of Christ's ordinances." [3] Now,

LXXXVI.—Not to insist on his palpable mistake concerning the persons who were confirmed, though it be cer-

[1] Principles Cyprianic Age, p. 49.

[2] Cyp. Bp. Exd. sect. 39, p. 52, 53, 54.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 52, 53.

tain that they were not only such as had been baptized in their infancy, but also many who were instructed in the principles of Christianity before they were baptized. Not to insist on that, than which yet there is nothing more manifest in all the monuments of the third century, (concerning a part whereof we have all this controversy) viz. that infants were admitted to the Lord's Supper; so that it is plainly impossible that the confirmation of such could have been that which G[ilbert] R[ule] affirms it was, viz. a bringing of them to the pastor to be tried as to their proficiency. Not to insist on G[ilbert] R[ule]'s having visibly thrown up the whole design of his book by such a fair acknowledgment as he has here made of an officer in St Cyprian's time, who was one of men's choosing, and "none of those to whom Christ committed his ordinances," that is, in effect a Bishop; for G[ilbert] R[ule] I am confident will not allow him to have been either Presbyterian Minister or Presbyterian Moderator. These things, however nicking or momentous they may be, I say I shall not insist on. All I shall require of him shall be to instruct, from any authentic monument or monuments, canonical or apocryphal, scriptural or ecclesiastical, sacred or profane, of the first three centuries, that he has here given a full, a fair, or a faithful account of confirmation, as it obtained in any Church in any period of time in those centuries; particularly, to instruct that confirmation was performed before the Eldership, taking Eldership in his sense, *i. e.* for a Presbytery or Consistory of church officers, who, by divine institution, had power to govern the Church, but none at all to preach or administer sacraments—or that there was a time when confirmation was performed without imposing of the hand—or that that rite of imposing of the hand in confirmation, was only "a pompous device of man," after confirmation was so much corrupted as to be "turned from the simplicity of God's ordinance"—or that St Cyprian and his contemporaries would have allowed it to have been called a device of man, pompous or not pompous, and no divine ordinance. Let G[ilbert] R[ule] I say, instruct all, or but any one of these things, (and to be as easy to him as I can, I shall not say by solid proof, but even) by so much as any one insinuation, however faint or slender, and I do hereby promise to yield him

the whole controversy about confirmation. But if he can perform no such thing, (and it is certain as death he cannot,) then I shall only leave it to the indifferent reader to determine with what conscience G[ilbert] R[ule] could choose so confidently to publish such arrant romances instead of sincere truths, in a serious controversy, rather than acknowledge himself mistaken, or suffer his disciples to perceive the true state of things as they obtained in the purest ages of the primitive Churches. But this is not all, for

LXXXVII.—G[ilbert] R[ule] has likewise professed not to know that which may easily be known, namely, what St Cyprian meant by imposing of the hand for the collation of the Holy Ghost. Take this likewise in his own words—"For a further refutation of this his principle (my principle that the Bishop was the only minister of confirmation) it may be observed (says he) that this confirmation of which Cyprian here speaketh, (viz. Ep. 73,) is not that which, in our days, goes under that name, but that used in the Apostolic Church, the effect of which was the giving of the Holy Ghost, as is clear from his citing Acts viii. 14, &c. for the pattern of what they did, and their warrant for it. Now that imposition of hands was not given to all the baptized, but only to such as were *ad ministerium ordinandi*, saith Lightfoot. It was not *ad sanctificationem, sed ad dona extraordinaria*, saith the same author. Piscator, Beza, Grotius, do also so expound this place. Wherefore it proveth nothing, except our author can tell what Cyprian meant by it, which I cannot, seeing the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost were then ceased for anything that we know."[1] So G[ilbert] R[ule]. Now how unlucky St Cyprian was in having never seen the lucubrations of Lightfoot, Piscator, Beza, and Grotius, on Acts viii. 14, &c. whereby he might have been taught the true meaning of that text; or how lucky G[ilbert] R[ule] has been in discovering that St Cyprian, who flourished 1450 years ago, could not understand Acts viii. 14, &c. of confirmation, because some authors who lived yesterday did not so understand it, I shall leave to others to consider. Neither shall I at present enquire, "Whether the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost had

[1] Cyp. Bp. Exd. sect. 39, p. 53, 54.

then ceased?" This may come afterwards to be considered. All I shall now attempt shall be, to help G[ilbert] R[ule] to the knowledge of what St Cyprian meant by imposing the hand for the collation of the Holy Ghost. But then I am to act the part of an historian only, not to maintain either the orthodoxy or the usefulness of the notions of St Cyprian and his contemporaries in this matter; that is, G[ilbert R[ule] must have no quarrel with me, unless it be about my fidelity, or my taking their meaning right. This premised for preventing of future impertinent disputes. I say that

LXXXVIII.—St Cyprian, as I take it, meant by it a sacred rite or ceremony distinct from baptism, instituted by Christ, and practised by his Apostles, for giving the Holy Ghost to all baptized persons, and performed by prayer and the laying on the hand of the Bishop. This, I think, may pass for an intelligible description of the rite as St Cyprian and his contemporaries understood it. They did indeed ascribe very noble and excellent efficacies to baptism. They represent it as that which sanctified, quickened, illuminated, purged, purified, cleansed, renewed, justified all who duly received it. They did not believe anything more firmly than that in baptism, rightly administered and received, all former sins were pardoned: that its waters were salutary, and that by it men did put on Christ, became temples fit for God to dwell in, and were made agreeable habitations for the Holy Ghost. St Cyprian calls it the source of faith, the salutary entry to the hope of eternal life, and God's own contrivance for purifying and enlivening his servants.[1] "Thereby (says Firmilian) the filth of the old man is washed off; all sins committed before it are remitted in it. It begets sons to God by an heavenly regeneration; and men are renewed to eternal life by the sanctification of it."[2] And he thinks it very strange that Stephen should allow heretics

[1] —Inde incipiat omnis fidei origo, et ad spem vitæ æternæ salutaris ingressio, et purificandis ac vivificandis Dei servis Divina dignatio—Ep. 73, p. 203.

[2] Stephanus—nullo adversus hæreticos zelo excitatur: concedens illis non modicam sed maximam gratiæ potestatem, ut dicat eos et asseveret per baptismi sacramentum sordes veteris hominis abluere, antiqua mortis peccata donare, regeneratione cœlesti filios Dei facere, ad æternam vitam divini lavacri sanctificatione reparare. Ep. 75, p. 225.

and schismatics such a mighty power of grace. And yet, as I have said, nothing plainer than that they made baptism and the imposing of the hand for giving the Holy Ghost, two distinct rites. They were so far from making the latter an "integrant part," or the "last or chiefest act,"[1] (as Salmasius will have it), or an appendage or ceremony of the former, (as Daillè will have it,[2] who cannot endure that it should be called an integrant part), that they made them every way as much distinct as exorcism and baptism, or as baptism and the eucharist. For,

LXXXIX.—1. They did expressly make two distinct sacraments. Thus I do not only take the imposition of the hand for giving the Holy Ghost to be comprehended among the [cetera salutaria bona] the rest of the salutary ordinances,[3] and the [cetera Ecclesiæ munera] the rest of the offices of the Church, expressly distinguished from baptism, by St Cyprian[4] and by Firmilian;[5] but also our Martyr in express terms makes it a sacrament distinct from, and equally necessary with baptism, for making a complete Christian.[6] So doth Nemesianus à Thubunis.[7] Nay, we have it so called by two councils of Bishops in two synodical

[1] Apparat ad Libros. de Primatu, p. 182.

[2] De Confirmatione, p. 125, 129, 131, 132, 133, 138, 139, 150, 152, &c.

[3] Si Ecclesiæ devoti, et in Ecclesia constituti sunt hæretici, possunt et baptismo ejus, et *ceteris salutaribus bonis* uti—Ep. 73, p. 203.

[4] Nam si viderint (hæretici) judicio et sententia nostra (Catholicorum Episcoporum) id decerni et statui, ut baptisma justum et legitimum computetur, quo illic baptizantur; putabunt se Ecclesiam quoque *et cetera Ecclesiæ munera* juste et legitime possidere; nec erit causa veniendi ad *nos*, quando habentes baptisma, habere videantur *et cetera*—Ep. 73, p. 209.

[5] Qui sic magna et cœlestia Ecclesiæ *munera* (quale est baptisma) hæreticis concedit et tribuit; quid aliud quam communicat eis, quibus tantum gratiæ defendit ac vindicat? Et frustra jam dubitat in *ceteris* quoque consentire eis et particeps esse——Ep. 75, p. 225.

[6] —Baptizari eos oportet qui de hæresi ad Ecclesiam veniunt; ut qui legitimo et vero, atque unico sanctæ Ecclesiæ baptismo ad regnum Dei regeneratione divina præparantur, *sacramento utroque* nascantur, quia scriptum est—NISI QUIS RENATUS FUERIT EX AQUA ET SPIRITU, NON POTEST INTRARE IN REGNUM DEI——Ep. 73, p. 207, 208.

[7] —In Evangelio divina sua voce Dominus noster Jesus Christus locutus est, dicens—NISI QUIS RENATUS FUERIT EX AQUA ET SPIRITU, NON POTEST INTROIRE IN REGNUM DEI—neque enim *Spiritus* sine *aqua* operari potest neque *aqua* sine *Spiritu*. Male ergo sibi quidam (Stephanus, &c.) interpretantur, ut dicant quod per *manus impositionem* Spiritum sanctum accipiant, et sic recipiantur, cum manifestum sit, *utroque sacramento* debere eos renasci in Ecclesia Catholica. Con. Carth. Suff. 5.

Epistles, the one written to Stephen, Bishop of Rome,[1] the other to divers African Bishops.[2] You have their testimonies on the margin. But this is not all,

XC.—2. They made them two distinct sacraments, founded on distinct institutions. This I add, because I know it was very ordinary with St Cyprian and his contemporaries very frequently to use the word sacrament very laxly. The institution of baptism is so known and acknowledged that I need not insist on it. This is certain, there is not one word of imposing the hand for the collation of the Holy Ghost in it. St Cyprian therefore, I say, and his contemporaries found out for it another and a distinct institution. In short, they founded it thus, they found it practised by the Apostles, Acts viii. 14, &c., and cap. xix. 5, 6. And they doubted not but the Apostles practised it in pursuance of that saying of our Saviour's, "Except a man be born of *water* (*i. e.* be baptized) and of the *Spirit* (*i. e.* have the hand imposed on him for the collation of the Holy Ghost), he cannot enter into the kingdom of God," John iii. 5, as you may see by two or three of the last adduced testimonies. They doubted not, I say, that the Apostles practised it in pursuance of this saying of our Saviour's, in which you see they understood baptism, and the imposition of the hand for giving of the Holy Ghost, to be two sacraments manifestly distinguished. Add to this, that they understood this of imposing the hand, &c. to have a plain reference to, and dependence upon, our Saviour's promise of sending down the Holy Ghost upon his Disciples, which promise was made long after they were baptized. It were easy to prove this very fully,

[1] —Eos qui sunt foris extra Ecclesiam tincti, et apud hæreticos et schismaticos profanæ aquæ labe maculati, quando ad *nos* atque ad Ecclesiam, quæ una est, venerint, baptizari oportere; eo quod parum sit eis *manum imponere* ad accipiendum Spiritum sanctum, nisi accipiant et Ecclesiæ baptismum. Tunc enim demum *plene sanctificari*, et esse filii Dei possunt, si *sacramento utroque* nascantur, cum scriptum sit—NISI QUIS RENATUS FUERIT EX AQUA ET SPIRITU, &c.—Ep. 72, p. 196.

[2] "Quare qui cum Domino sumus—quæcunque adversarii ejus, et antichristi faciunt, repudiare et rejicere, et pro profanis habere debemus, et eis qui de errore et pravitate venientes agnoscunt unius Ecclesiæ veram fidem, dare illis per *omnia Divinæ gratiæ sacramenta*" (non tantum per confirmationis ritum, aut Eucharistiæ administrationem, sed etiam Baptismi, ut recte adnotat doctissimus Oxoniensis) "unitatis et fidei veritatem."—Ep. 70, p. 192.

but I shall content myself at present with three plain testimonies: The first shall be that of Vincentius à Thibari, in his suffrage in the often mentioned Council of Carthage, where he manifestly distinguishes three steps whereby he would have those who came from heresy or schism to be received into the communion of the Church. The first is, "that they be exorcised." Now, no man I think, will say that exorcism was either part or act, appendage or ceremony of baptism. It was commonly performed long before baptism, and a great many things intervened between it and baptism, as Salmasius himself acknowledges.[1] Secondly, (says Vincentius) "let them be regenerated by baptism;" and then, after that, in the third place, (possunt ad pollicitationem Christi venire), "they may receive the imposition of the hand of the Bishop for the collation of the Holy Ghost, according to our Saviour's promise."[2] That this is his meaning must be obvious to any who considers the state of the controversy which occasioned the meeting of the Council. That which I am chiefly concerned for is, that he as clearly distinguishes between baptism and confirmation as between baptism and exorcism. And he distinguishes them by making confirmation to refer to, and depend upon our Saviour's promise of sending down the Holy Ghost on his disciples—a promise made to them (as I have said) after they were baptized. Our Martyr also discourses manifestly to this purpose in his Epistle to Jubaianus,[3] and so doth Firmilian;[4] you have their own words on the margin. Neither is this all, for,

[1] Apparat. ad Lib. de Primatu, p. 185.

[2] Ergo primo per manus impositionem in *exorcismo*, secundo per baptismi regenerationem; *tunc* possunt ad Christi *pollicitationem* venire: alias autem fieri censeo non debere. Suff. 37.

[3] "Porro autem cum cognoscunt baptisma nullum foris esse, nec remissam peccatorum extra Ecclesiam dari posse, avidius ad nos et promtius properant, et *munera* ac *dona* Ecclesiæ matris implorant; certi pervenire se omnino non posse ad *veram Divinæ gratiæ pollicitationem*" (*i. e.* Se Spiritum Sanctum per manus impositionem non posse veré consequi,) "nisi prius venerint ad Ecclesiæ unitatem," (nempe per Ecclesiæ baptismum, ut patet tam ex antecedentibus quam consequentibus.) Ep. 73, p. 209.

[4] Et quoniam Stephanus et qui illi consentiunt, contendunt dimissionem peccatorum et secundam nativitatem in hæreticorum baptisma posse procedere, apud quos etiam ipsi confitentur Spiritum sanctum non esse; considerent et intelligant spiritalem nativitatem sine Spiritu esse non posse (*i. e.* Non posse quenquam baptizari nisi ubi Spiritus quoque sanctus

XCI.—3. They not only made them distinct sacraments, depending upon distinct institutions, but also they ascribed distinct effects and operations to them. According to the current principles of the Cyprianic Age he was not a *legitimus Christianus*, a Christian complete, who had received no more than baptism. In those days they believed that something more plainly, imposition of the hand, was further necessary to make good his title to all the privileges of the Christian society. They believed there was a material defect even after the person was baptized, so long as the other sacrament was wanting,[1] and that persons were then, and not till then, *fully sanctified*, when they had received both sacraments.[2] They believed that baptism formed people into temples fit for the Holy Ghost to inhabit; but it was by the imposition of the hand that he was actually lodged in those temples;[3] that is, (as it is explained in another place,) baptism fitted, disposed, prepared persons for the receiving of the Holy Ghost by the imposition of the hand.[4] Baptism (as Firmilian resembles them) was the mother that brought forth the child; and the imposition of the hand was the nurse that gave him suck, and preserved his life, and brought him to maturity after he was born.[5] "As God did first form man,

per manus impositionem dari possit), secundum quod et beatus Paulus Apostolus eos qui ab Joanne baptizati fuerant, *priusquam missus esset à Domino Spiritus sanctus*, baptizavit denuo spiritali baptismo et sic eis *manum imposuit*, ut acciperent Spiritum sanctum. Ep. 75, p. 221.

[1] —Baptizari eos (Samaritanos) ultra non oportebat; sed tantummodo quod *deerat*, id à Petro et Joanne factum est.—Ep. 73, p. 202. Sed de hoc testimonio fusius infra, sect. 98.

[2] Vide sect. 89.[1]

[3] —Si effectum baptismi majestati nominis tribuunt (Stephanus, &c.) ut qui in nomine Jesu Christi ubicunque et quomodocunque baptizantur, innovati et sanctificati judicentur; cur non in ejusdem Christi nomine illic et *manus baptizato imponitur* ad accipiendum Spiritum sanctum? Cur eadem ejusdem majestas nominis non prævalet *manus impositione*, quam valuisse contendunt in baptismi sanctificatione? Nam si potest quis extra Ecclesiam natus *templum Dei* fieri (per baptismum), cur non possit super *templum et Spiritus Sanctus* infundi? Qui enim peccatis in baptismo expositis sanctificatus est, et in novum hominem spiritaliter formatus, ad accipiendum *Spiritum sanctum* idoneus factus est.—Ep. 74, p. 213. (Huc etiam spectant quæ supra observata sunt, sect. 83.)

[4] Vide supra, sect. 90.

[5] Non est autem una nobiscum hæreticorum synagoga, quia nec sponsa est adultera et fornicaria; unde nec potest filios Dei parere. Nisi si secun-

(says St Cyprian) and then breathe in him the breath of life, so baptism did indeed form the Christian, but it was the other sacrament that gave him the Holy Ghost, to be a living and abiding principle within him.[1]" Nay,

XCII.—4. By the principles of the Cyprianic age the gracious operations of these two sacraments were so very distinct, that sometimes, as they thought, the grace signified or communicated by the imposition of the hand, was given before the administration of baptism. To this purpose we have the reasoning of a whole Synod of African Bishops, in their Epistle to Stephen concerning heretical and schismatical baptisms. They observe that the Holy Ghost (the ordinary effect of the imposition of the hand) was given to Cornelius and his family even before they were baptized. And that St Peter nevertheless thought it necessary to baptize them. And they affirm that the reason why St Peter did so determine was, that he did not think that Apostles themselves could dispense with divine institutions; or whatever our Lord had appointed, was necessarily to be performed. You have their own words on the margin,[2] and in them the different operations of baptism and confirmation most plainly exhibited, so very plainly, as that the greatest efficacies of the *one*, ought not to encourage any man to imagine that the *other* is not necessary. Indeed,

XCIII.—5. St Cyprian and his contemporaries believed them to be two so very distinct sacraments, that they

dum quod Stephano videtur, hæresis quidem *parit* et exponit: expositos autem Ecclesia suscipit; et quos non ipsa pepererit pro suis *nutrit*, cum filiorum alienorum mater esse non possit. Ep. 75, p. 224.

[1] Porro autem non per *manus impositionem* quis nascitur quando accipit Spiritum sanctum, sed in baptismo: Ut Spiritum jam natus accipiat, sicut in primo homine Adam factum est. Ante enim Deus eum plasmavit, et tunc insufflavit in faciem ejus flatum vitæ. Nec enim potest accipi Spiritus, nisi prius fuerit qui accipiat. Ep. 74, p. 213, 214.

[2] Invenimus enim etiam in Actis Apostolorum hoc esse Apostolis custoditum, et salutaris fidei veritate servatum, ut cum in domo Cornelii Centurionis super ethnicos qui illic aderant, fidei calore ferventes, et in Dominum toto corde credentes, descendisset Spiritus sanctus, quo adimpleti variis linguis Deum benedicerent; nihilominus tamen beatum Apostolum Petrum Divini præcepti atque Evangelii memorem præcepisse, ut baptizarentur iidem illi, qui jam fuerant sancto Spiritu pleni; ut nihil prætermissum videretur, quo minus per *omnia* Divini præcepti atque Evangelii legem, Apostolica magisteria servarent. Ep. 72, p. 196.

allowed the one to be iterable but not the other. Neither party, neither the Stephanians nor the Cyprianists, allowed baptism to be iterable. The Stephanians used it as one of their chief arguments that the baptisms of heretics and schismatics were to be reputed valid, because baptism could not be reiterated. And the Cyprianists said they did not reiterate baptism, they did not rebaptise, as has been already observed.[1] Heretics and schismatics, according to them, did not baptize. They had no power to do it, they did not therefore rebaptize, but baptize those who came from heresy or schism. But as for the imposition of the hand, both parties allowed it to be iterable. The Stephanians actually required the reiteration of it at the reception of those who came from heresy or schism. Neither was this ever quarrelled by the Cyprianists. Nay, they themselves did actually reiterate it in the case of those who having received Catholic baptism turned heretics or schismatics, and afterwards returned to the unity of the Catholic Church.[2] In short, it appears to me that they understood the imposition of the hand for giving the Holy Ghost, and the imposition of the hand in the reconciliation of penitents, to have been very much of the same nature and to the same purpose. And hence it was that they did indiscriminately call the rite of imposing the hand, imposition of the hand for the giving of the Holy Ghost, and imposition of the hand for repentance. So Stephen himself calls it,[3] and so doth our Martyr.[4] Now no man, I think, will deny that the imposi-

[1] Supra, sect. 57.

[2] Quod nos quoque hodie observamus, ut quos constet hic baptizatos esse, et à nobis ad hæreticos transisse, si postmodum peccato suo cognito, et errore digesto, ad veritatem et matricem redeat, satis sit in pœnitentiam *manum imponere*——Ep. 71, p. 194; et—Observatur itaque à nobis et tenetur, frater carissime, explorata et perspecta veritate, ut omnes qui ex quacunque hæresi ad Ecclesiam convertuntur, Ecclesiæ unico legitimo baptismo baptizentur, exceptis his qui baptizati in Ecclesia prius fuerant, et sic ad hæreticos transierant: hos enim oportet cum redeunt, acta pœnitentia per *manus impositionem* solam recipi, et in ovile, unde erraverant, à pastore restitui. Ep. 74, p. 216.

[3] Stephani verba ab ipso Cypriano, Ep. 74, p. 210, citata hæc sunt.—"Si quis à quacunque hæresi venerit ad nos, nihil innovetur nisi quod traditum est, ut *manus* illi *imponatur in pœnitentiam*——."

[4] Vide hactenus citata (2) vide etiam, Ep. 74, p. 211, ubi hæc legere est.—"Si ergo aut in Evangelio præcipitur, aut in Apostolorum Epistolis aut Actibus continetur, ut a quacunque hæresi venientes non baptizentur,

tion of the hand for repentance, by the principles of both Stephanians and Cyprianists, was reiterable. And the reason for which they thought this imposition of the hand for giving of the Holy Ghost iterable, is very obvious in the Cyprianic monuments, namely, that the Holy Ghost, as an indwelling principle of spiritual life, might be lost; and all those lost him who turned heretics or schismatics, or sacrificers to the heathen deities. And therefore it was necessary, when they repented and returned, to renew the imposition of the hand, that the Holy Ghost might be again given them. That this was a current principle then, might be copiously proved, if it were needful; to have set down two or three plain testimonies on the margin[1] may suffice at present.

XCIV.—6. Neither is it of any weight that Tertullian in his book about baptism doth straight subjoin the imposition of the hand for giving the Holy Ghost, to the baptismal lotion and unction. No man can reasonably infer from thence that he made the imposition of the hand an appendage or ceremony of baptism, no more than he can infer that Tertullian made the eucharist an appendage or ceremony of baptism, from his subjoining the one to the other, as immediately, upon another occasion.[2] Such reasonings are so apparently infirm, that they are scarcely worth

sed tantum *manus* illis *imponatur* in pœnitentiam; observetur divina hæc et sancta traditio," et rursus, p. 212, plura huc facientia reperire est, immo passim.

[1] Solomon denique, et Saul, et ceteri multi quamdiu in viis Domini ambulaverunt, datam sibi *gratiam* tenere potuerunt: recedente ab iis disciplina Dominica, recessit et *gratia*. Ep. 13, p. 29.

——Sancta non agentes a *Spiritu sancto* deseruntur. Ep. 59, p. 138.

Si vero apud insanos furor insanabilis perseveraverit, et *recedente Spiritu sancto*, quæ cœpit cæcitas in sua nocte permanserit——Ep. 65, p. 163.

Prævaluit autem apud te contra divinam sententiam—inimicorum et malignorum commentum; quasi apud *lapsos* et profanos, et *extra Ecclesiam* positos, de quorum pectoribus *excesserit Spiritus sanctus*, esse aliud possit nisi mens prava——Ep. 66, p. 166.

Et contra sæpe nonnulli de illis qui sani baptizantur, si postmodum peccare cœperint, *Spiritu immundo redeunte* quatiuntur; ut manifestum sit, diabolum in baptismo fide credentis excludi, si fides postmodum defecerit, *regredi*—Ep. 69, p. 188.

"Quis autem potest dare quod ipse non habeat? Aut quomodo potest spiritalia agere, qui ipse *amiserit Spiritum sanctum?*" Quæstio est a 32. Episcopis in Synodo congregatis propositâ—Ep. 70, p. 191.

[2] De resur. carnis, cap. 8.

the naming. Nothing more certain than that by the principles of the Cyprianic age a very long time might have intervened between baptism and the imposition of the hand for the collation of the Holy Ghost. This was obvious to them in the Apostolic practice or pattern, mentioned Acts viii. 14, &c., on which they founded this sacrament, as they called it. Philip had baptized the Samaritans a good time before St Peter and St John confirmed them. And what can be a clearer argument of any thing than the doctrine of Stephen and all his party is of this? Did not they assert the validity, and by consequence the perfection, of heretical and schismatical baptisms? Were they not peremptory that such baptisms were so complete that they ought not to be reiterated? And did they not allow, and not only allow but require, that those thus completely baptized in heresy or schism, when they returned to the unity of the Catholic Church, should have the hand imposed on them for the collation of the Holy Ghost? And might not this have been performed even some decades of years after they were baptized? Now, G[ilbert] R[ule] himself cannot but know that the Stephanians have always been looked upon as the more orthodox in that controversy concerning heretical and schismatical baptisms, so that, in this matter, we may safely rely on their propositions as having been then generally received: And that so much the more, that herein (I mean in the point presently in hand concerning the intervention of a long time sometimes between baptism and confirmation) they are not at all contradicted by the Cyprianists. And yet had the Cyprianists been of Daille's mind, had they believed that the imposing of the hand was an appendage or ceremony of baptism, it is scarcely to be imagined but they would have made the Stephanians hear it with both ears; for how obvious had it been for those to have asked these, these or the like questions: how come you to require the imposition of the hand on those who return from heresy or schism, seeing, on the one hand, you will not allow them to be baptized, and on the other, this right of imposing of the hand is no separate sacrament, is nothing but a ceremony of baptism? or how come you to ratify heretical baptisms and repudiate heretical confirmations, seeing the latter is

no other than a ceremony of the former? Yet not one syllable to this purpose is to be found in their writings.

XCV.—7. Neither seems it difficult to account for St Cyprian and his contemporaries their retaining this rite of imposing the hand for the collation of the Holy Ghost, after the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost had ceased (if in their days they had ceased) which G[ilbert] R[ule] would fain have uncountable. For, 1. As I have already shewn, they did not found it merely on the Apostolic practice, mentioned Acts viii. 14, &c., but likewise, and principally, upon our Saviour's promise of sending down the Holy Ghost on his Disciples. Now, 2. It is certain that however in the beginnings of Christianity the Holy Ghost wrought extraordinarily in those on whom he was conferred, yet the promise was primarily intended for his ordinary operations: or to give it in the language of the schools, when our Saviour promised to send the Holy Ghost, he intended to send him more principally for producing the [gratiæ gratum facientes] than the [gratiæ gratis datæ.] The latter were only necessary for the first, the former for all ages of the Church. And G[ilbert] R[ule] himself I hope, will grant that men's salvation has a far greater dependence on the former than the latter. Had Salmasius but minded this, I am apt to think he would not have so rashly condemned the primitive Bishops for retaining this rite, as you may see by his own words on the margin[1] he has done. Daille did wisely consider it, and therefore he is so far from condemning them, that he not only excuses, but even fairly approves their retaining of it, even after the extraordinary operations of the Spirit were over; and I think G[ilbert] R[ule] must be peevish, if he shall not be satisfied with this author's words which I have here given faithfully transcribed on the margin.[2]

[1] Res igitur illa tota (quæ Act. viii. 14, &c., continetur) extraordinaria, et solis Apostolis concessa, non alii cuiquam. Ideo et desiit cum ipsis Apostolis, quamvis consuetudinem manuum imponendarum baptizatis retinuerit primitiva Ecclesia, sed sine effectu qui consequabatur ex impositione manuum Apostolica, adeo ut *mimica* potius imitatio hæc sit appellanda quam sacramentum, qua et supersedere potuerunt præsidentes Ecclesiæ primitivæ, immo et *debuerunt*——Apparat. ad Lib. de Primatu, p. 181. Vide plura ejusdem notæ, p. 183, et 187.

[2] —Cyprianus morem illum in Ecclesia ita solennem manus baptizandis

XCVI.—These things I have discoursed might have been more fully insisted on; and many other things might have been mentioned for further clearing up the principles of St Cyprian and his contemporaries concerning confirmation. But from what I have said, methinks these things are sufficiently clear. 1. That they believed it to be a rite of divine institution. 2. A rite to be performed on all baptized persons. 3. A rite distinct from baptism, and neither part, appendage, nor ceremony of it. There is one other argument for farther clearing this last thing; namely, that by the principles of the Cyprianic age, baptism, and the imposing of the hand for the collation of the Holy Ghost, were offices so very distinct that they were to be performed by distinct officers. Presbyters and Deacons could baptize, but the imposing of the hand for giving the Holy Ghost was peculiar to the Bishop. And so I am introduced to the other thing G[ilbert] R[ule] has put me to prove, viz.

XCVII.—2. That this rite was performed by the Bishop. I must insist largely on this, but for brevity I shall only repeat my former arguments, and vindicate them from the exceptions G[ilbert] R[ule] has been pleased to make against them. They were three testimonies. The testimony of St Cyprian, the testimony of Firmilian, and the testimony of Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, three very famous authors, all three contemporary; but though contemporary, yet living at considerable distances from one another—the first in Africa, the second in Asia, the third in Europe. So that by very good consequence it may be said, that they three affirm-

(rectius dixisset, baptizatis) imponendi, ut etiam, qui sine hoc rite baptizati erant, Ecclesiæ præpositis manus impositionem consecuturi offerrentur; morem inquam illum repetit ab Apostolorum exemplo. Recte quidem hactenus, quod Apostolorum apud Lucam factum ostendit, et manus impositionem non profanam, sed probam ac legitimam esse cerimoniam, eamque cum oratione, super homine baptizato, sine culpa jungi ab Ecclesiæ præpositis posse; item ut doceat Spiritus sancti, dona atque incrementa ab optimo Deo ministrorum suorum precibus impetrari. Hactenus inquam, apud Ecclesiam per Præpositos manum baptizatis imponentes, iisque oratione sua Spiritus incrementa impetrantes, id gerebatur quod ab Apostolis factum fuerat. Si vero Spiritus ipsius dona spectes, ne ipse quidem Cyprianus negaturus fuit aliud factum ab Apostolis, aliud a se et collegis gestum. Illi enim τὸ τῶν σημείων πνεῦμα *signorum Spiritum*—conferebant: hi vero ordinariorum et communium donorum auctiorem mensuram. De Confirmatione, Lib. 2, cap. 8, p. 157.

ing the same thing, we have in their testimonies the common faith as to this point of all the then Christian Churches.

XCVIII.—St Cyprian's testimony is in his Epistle to Jubaianus, where, discoursing the matter of heretical and schismatical baptisms, he proposes this objection of the Stephanians, "that those who were baptized in Samaria, were not baptized by the Apostles Peter and John when they came amongst them. They gave them only imposition of the hand for the collation of the Holy Ghost, as we learn Acts viii. 14, &c.," and he returns this answer for substance; that that text, Acts viii. 14, &c., doth not at all make for the objectors; "for those who had been baptized in Samaria had believed with true faith, and had been baptized [intus] in the communion of the Church, which is one, and which alone has power to baptize and remit sins: And they had been baptized by one duly qualified for performing valid baptism, namely, by Philip the Deacon, whom the very same Apostles had *sent* to baptize them. Having therefore thus received lawful ecclesiastical baptism, there was no place for any farther baptizing of them—nothing was to be done by the Apostles Peter and John, but that which was *wanting*," viz. to give them the Holy Ghost by *prayer* and *imposition of the hand:* "And this," says he, "to this day we do observe: Those who are baptized in the Church are offered to the *Præpositi*, the Bishops of the Church, that by *our prayer* and the *imposition of our hand*, they may receive the Holy Ghost, and be consummated by the *seal* of our Lord." You have our martyr's words on the margin.[1]

[1] Quod autem dicunt quidam de eis qui in Samaria baptizati fuerant, advenientibus Apostolis Petro et Joanne, tantum super eos *manum impositam* esse, ut acciperent Spiritum sanctum, rebaptizatos tamen non esse: locum, frater carissime, ad præsentem causam videmus omnino non pertinere. Illi enim qui in Samaria crediderant, fide vera crediderant; et *intus* in Ecclesia, quæ *una* est, et cui soli gratiam baptismi dare, et peccata solvere permissum est, a Philippo Diacono, quem iidem Apostoli *miserant*, baptizati erant. Et iccirco quia legitimum et Ecclesiasticum baptisma consecuti fuerant, baptizari eos ultra non oportebat; sed tantummodo *quod deerat*, id a Petro et Joanne factum est, ut oratione pro eis habita, et manu imposita, invocaretur et infunderetur super eos Spiritus sanctus. Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut qui in Ecclesia baptizantur, *Præpositis* Ecclesiæ offerantur, et per *nostram orationem* ac *manus impositionem* Spiritum

XCIX.—Now in this testimony, or rather discourse, I affirm these things to be very plain—1. that confirmation was a rite distinct from baptism, and performed after baptism; 2. that it was performed by prayer and the imposition of the hand for the collation of the Holy Ghost—so that by this time G[ilbert] R[ule] has the greater part of the particulars contained in my description of confirmation sufficiently proved; 3. that it had been constantly in use in the Church since the days of the Apostles. This I take to be fairly insinuated in these words,—["Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur."] The true import whereof seems to me to be, that in conformity to the pattern set to them by the Apostles, the successors of the Apostles had all along continued the practice of this rite; and by the way this seems to me such an evidence of the constant practice of that rite ever since the Apostles' times, as is too weighty for all the conjectures and little semblances of reason insisted on by Daille, &c., for proving that it did not come in use till towards the end of the second century; and when put in the balance with them, will make them all appear to be light. And then, 4. in the foregoing discourse of St Cyprian we have that which is our main concern at present, namely—that the rite of confirmation was performed by the Bishops; they were the men who ordinarily and regularly conferred the Holy Ghost by prayer and the imposition of the hand; and so every part of my description of it is confirmed.

C.—Not so, says G[ilbert] R[ule]. Why! "Because those who performed the rite are only called *Præpositi*, and Presbyters were called by that name."[1] I grant they were so, and so were Deacons, as I have already proved.[2] But then I have likewise proved to a demonstration that Bishops, as such, Bishops as superior to Presbyters, Bishops as the chief governors of Churches, had this name most frequently bestowed upon them.[3] And nothing can be plainer from the whole train of our martyr's discourse here, than that the *Præpositi* he meant were the Bishops. This is necessary, 1. from the plain analogy of his discourse.

sanctum consequantur, et *signaculo* Dominico consummentur. Ep. 73, p. 201, 202.

[1] Sect. 39, p. 53. [2] Supra, sect. 28. [3] Ibid. sect. 28, &c.

He tells us expressly that he gives us the Church's practice as exactly agreeing with the Apostolic pattern; by consequence, nothing plainer than that as those who in the Apostles' times had power to baptize (as Philip had, who baptized the Samaritans), had not withal power to confirm, that being a proper ministry peculiarly reserved to the Apostles and performed by them, so it was in his time. However others besides Bishops did baptize, yet when the baptized person was to be confirmed, he was brought to those *Præpositi* who succeeded to the Apostles in the ecclesiastical sovereignty, which I have already fully proved Bishops were believed to do.[1] Nay, without allowing the *Præpositi* here mentioned to have been the Bishops, as contradistinguished from all other clergymen, G[ilbert] R[ule] shall never be able to make sense of St Cyprian's discourse; for our Martyr tells us manifestly, that it was after persons were baptized that they were brought to the *Præpositi* to be confirmed; which must needs import that the *minister of baptism* was *one*, as indeed he was sometimes a Presbyter and sometimes a Deacon, and the *minister of confirmation* was *another*. But what needs more? Let us, 3. Consider these words of our martyr's—"Those," says he, "who are baptized in the Church are brought or offered to the *Præpositi*, [ut per *nostram orationem* ac *manus impositionem* Spiritum sanctum consequantur] that by *our prayer*, and the imposition of *our hand*, they may receive the Holy Ghost," &c. What can be more manifest than that the pronoun [nostram] *our* determines the Præpositi, who were the ministers of confirmation, to have been such as he himself was, that is, Bishops, and Bishops only? indeed, the evidences contained in this our Martyr's discourse of their being the Bishops who are here called the Præpositi, are so very bright and irresistible, that they have extorted a plain confession of it from both Blondel and Salmasius.

CI.—Blondel, I say, roundly confesses, that by his Præpositi here, St Cyprian meant the Bishops; and he confesses it with these resentments of it, that this ministry was appropriated to the Bishops by the exigencies of a discipline which was introduced after the days of the Apostles; by

[1] Supra, sect. 2, &c.

that discipline whereby Presbyters were bound up from baptizing without the Bishop's allowance; that is, plainly by the rules of Episcopal government, which he all along contends was not introduced till about the middle of the second century; and he acknowledges that St Cyprian meant the same Præpositi whom (150 years after St Cyprian) St Austin entituled to this ministry.[1] And I hope G[ilbert] R[ule] himself, who acknowledges that "Episcopacy was past its meridian in Austin's time,"[2] will not make scruple to acknowledge that in his time Bishops were the only ordinary ministers of confirmation. Salmasius' confession is every whit as plain as Blondel's, for having cited these very words of our Martyr's, [Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, &c.] he adds, "That this rite of imposing the hand was the last and chief act of baptism, by which it was believed to be consummated and perfected, but not confirmed," and—"that this was *new*, in that last act of baptism, that *Bishops only* could give that consummation." And therefore, "if the Bishop was present when any person was baptized, the right of imposing the hand was forthwith performed, but if he was absent, it was delayed."[3]

CII.—Neither, indeed, doth Daille himself deny that this ministry was peculiar to the Bishop, at least in some cases, particularly if the Bishop was present when any person was baptized. He labours, indeed, to obscure our martyr's testimony as much as he can. He comes in with G[ilbert]

[1] Cum omnem (ex inducta post Apostolos disciplina) Ecclesiæ actum per Episcopos *Præpositos* gubernari solitum fuisse totidem verbis monuerit Cyprianus; ut baptismum quem ex æquo ab omnibus exerceri et dari posse censuit Tertullianus, sine Episcopi auctoritate dandi Presbyteri et Diaconi jus non haberent, nemini mirum fuerit si adscito a priscis manum baptizandis per benedictionem advocantem et invitantem Spiritum sanctum imponendi ritu, adjunctoque eadem libertate Spiritûs quem Joannes Χρίσμα ὑπό του ἁγίου vocavit, chrismatis materialis sensibili symbolo, præpositis Ecclesia oblati sint Cypriani ætate baptizati, ut per eorum orationem et manus impositionem Spiritum sanctum consequerentur; eundemque morem, in suis præpositis annis etiam post Cypriani martyrium 150 Ecclesiam servare scripserit Augustinus. Apol. pro. sent. Hieron. p. 209.

[2] Vide supra, cap. 5, sect. 3.

[3] Ultimus erat ac summus baptismi actus quo et consummari credebatur ac perfici, non vero confirmari. Hoc etiam *novum* fuit in isto ultimo actu baptismi, ut *soli Episcopi* eam consummationem tradere possent. Ideo si præsens esset *Episcopus*, statim cum ipso baptismo conferebatur, si abesset differebatur. Apparat. ad Lib. de Primatu, p. 182.

R[ule]'s plea, viz. "That Presbyters were also called [Præpositi]," but little, I think, for G[ilbert] R[ule]'s behoof, for he expressly makes them Præpositi in a station and order inferior to that of Bishops.[1] He has divers other things which he says without book; and then (the evidence of truth extorting it from him) he says—"If the Bishop was present, though all the other rites of baptism were performed by Presbyters, yet this of imposing the hand, &c. was, for honour's sake, reserved to the Bishop to be performed by him."[2] So that if G[ilbert] R[ule] shall hereafter have the courage to resist the evidences of confirmation being an office peculiar to the Bishop, contained in this discourse of our Martyr, let him only remember that he can resist evidences which were too hard for these three first-rate champions for Presbytery, Blondel, Salmasius, and Daille.

CIII.—Thus, I think, I have sufficiently vindicated our Martyr's testimony, and made it evident that if we may rely on his authority concerning a matter of fact, current every day in his own time, Bishops were the ministers of confirmation. But before I leave this testimony, I think I may adventure to draw out of it a new argument in confirmation of the Bishop's sovereign power in baptism; for he who duly weighs the testimony will find that the foot on which St Cyprian establishes the validity of the baptisms performed by Philip in Samaria, is not simply that they were performed by him, nay, nor that they were performed by him in the unity of the Church, but that they were performed by him as being *sent* by the Apostles to baptize those Samaritans, exactly according to Tertullian's testimony, and before him Ignatius's; without doubt, most exactly according to the current principles which obtained in the days of St Cyprian, viz. that baptisms could not be regularly performed but in dependence on the Bishop, "*Non sine Episcopi auctoritate*," not without his licence, his allowance, his authority. And so much concerning St Cyprian's testimony.

[1] Is (Præpositorum) titulus tam Presbyterorum, quam Episcoporum communis est; qui utrique, sed *suo* singuli *loco* atque *ordine* Ecclesiæ præerant, ejusque Præpositi erant. De Confirm. p. 154.

[2] —Qui à Presbyteris in Ecclesia, cum adesset Episcopus, baptizati erant (ii enim honoris causa *manus impositionem* ab *Episcopo*, ultimum accepisse, postquam cætera à Presbytero habuissent videntur.) Ibid. 155.

CIV.—Firmilian's testimony which I adduced, was that known one mentioned before more than once, viz :—" That all power and grace is to be found only in the Church where those elders preside who possess the power of baptizing, imposing the hand, and ordaining ; for as an heretic cannot ordain, nor impose the hand, so neither can he baptize."[1] " This citation," says G[ilbert] R[ule], " destroyeth what it is brought for."[2] Why? because he hopes, forsooth, I will not say that Presbyters had no power in baptism—I do not say it—I do not think they had no power in baptism, but I do sincerely think, and will boldly say, that by the principles of those times, Presbyters had only a subordinate, a dependent, an accountable, not at all a supreme, an independent, a sovereign power in baptism. I am apt to think G[ilbert] R[ule] might very readily have judged that this I would say, and therefore I cannot understand how he came to say what he instantly subjoins. " Wherefore, " says he, " by Bishops here Firmilian must mean the pastors of the Church, all of whom were frequently called Bishops at that time." I cannot understand, I say, what could move G[ilbert] R[ule] to advance such a sorry consequence ; for what consequence can be sorrier than this, Presbyters have a subordinate, dependent, accountable power in baptism? ergo, Firmilian must mean Presbyters, when he speaks of those who presided in the Church, and as presiding in it, had the power of baptism, confirmation, and ordination. And yet this is not all, the consequence is not sorrier than the position with which it is backed is false ; namely, that all Presbyters were frequently called Bishops at that time—a position as false as any can be concerning a matter of fact in any period of time, *i. e.* a position that has the whole stream of the monuments of that time against it, and not so much as a shadow of a single syllable in any of those monuments for it. But the main exception follows ; which is,

CV.—That I confess that those spoken of by Firmilian were only called by him [Majores natu], and therefore I

[1] —Omnis potestas et gratia in Ecclesia constituta sit, ubi præsident majores natu, qui et baptizandi et manum imponendi et ordinandi possident potestatem. Hæretico enim sicut ordinare non licet, nec manum imponere ; ita nec baptizare—Ep. 75. p. 221. [2] Cyp. Bp. Exd. p. 54.

have most absurdly pleaded that they were Bishops, as distinct from preaching Presbyters.[1] Nothing less than most absurdly! I should have reason to be sorry if I had given G[ilbert] R[ule] just cause to be angry. But to the point. I did indeed confess (and G[ilbert] R[ule] might have acknowledged my ingenuity in it,) that the term which I translated [Bishops], is [Majores natu]. I do now farther confess that it is very possible that the term which Firmilian (who wrote in Greek) used, was Πρεσβυτεροι; I say very possible. But then I say likewise, that it will be hard for G[ilbert] R[ule] to prove certainly that that was the term. But whatever it was, G[ilbert] R[ule] may remember that I added these words, which he most cunningly concealed, because to have brought them above board had stifled all his little exceptions; I added these words, I say, "but that he (Firmilian) meant Bishops, as distinguished from Presbyters, cannot be called in question by any man who reads the whole Epistle, and considers his style all along, and withal considers what a peculiar interest, by the principles of those times, the Bishop had in those three acts he names." These words I added, and I do not yet repent that I added them; G[ilbert] R[ule] may afterward have occasion to consider the reasons of this my confidence.[2] At present I think it enough to tell him, that in "the Principles of the Cyprianic Age,"[3] I gave such arguments for the Bishops having the power of ordination in that age, as he has not answered, as he shall never be able to answer; and as for baptism, the candid reader may competently judge whether the sovereign power of it belonged to the Bishop, by the arguments I here adduced for it; and I hope G[ilbert] R[ule] will not be so obstinate as to say that Firmilian, though he meant that they were the Bishops who had the sovereign power of ordination and baptism, yet did not allow them the sovereign power of confirmation. And so much briefly concerning the testimony of Firmilian.

CVI.—The third testimony I adduced was that of Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, in an Epistle to Fabius, Bishop of Antioch, recorded by Eusebius.[4] For there Cornelius in-

[1] Cyp. Bp. Exd. p. 54.
[2] Cap. 7, sect. 19, &c., and cap. 10, sect. 34, &c.
[3] P. 38, &c.
[4] Lib. 6, cap. 43.

sists on it as a good argument of Novatianus his unfitness for being a Bishop, that though he was baptized, yet he was not confirmed by the Bishop. To this G[ilbert] R[ule] has returned two things as surprizing as any in all his book. First, he says, "it is of little weight which Cornelius says of Novatianus, viz.:—That he was not confirmed by the Bishop."[1] Why? because, forsooth, Cornelius in that place questioned not only the confirmation of Novatianus, but his baptism. This, I say, is surprizing; for, 1. it is notoriously false that Cornelius questioned the baptism of Novatianus; and then, 2. admitting that he had questioned his baptism, yet what a singular way of reasoning is this—Cornelius questioned Novatianus's baptism, therefore it is of little weight that he pleaded his incapacity to be a Bishop, from his not being confirmed by a Bishop? Is it of little weight that one is charged with schism, because he is also charged with heresy? Is it of little weight that one is accused of rebellion, because he is also accused of perjury? Is it of little weight that one is affirmed to be imprudent, because he is also affirmed to be ignorant? Is it of little weight that one's charity is questioned, because his chastity is also called in question? Is this current logic in a certain college, that it is of little weight that one is incapable of such or such an office, upon one account, because he is also said to be incapable of it upon another.

CVII.—It is every whit as surprizing, which G[ilbert] R[ule] says in the second place, viz.—"That Cornelius spake not of the *ordinary* confirmation, but that which belonged to priests. This is clear (continues he) for Cornelius saith, 'how then came he by the Holy Ghost?' And he is there pleading his incapacity to be a Bishop on that account." Clear! says G[ilbert] R[ule]. Certainly he and I do not stand in the same light; for to me what he has here said, is either pure mystery or pure mistake. I confess it has most of the natural features of pure mystery. Cornelius speaketh not of the *ordinary* confirmation, but of that which belonged to the priests. In the name of common sense, pray tell me what is that *extraordinary* confirmation which belongeth to priests and to no other body? And what for a proof of that *extraordinary* confirmation which belonged only to priests, is this, that Cornelius saith of Novatianus,

[1] P. 54.

"how then came he by the Holy Ghost?" I thought I had proved above, to a demonstration, that it was the common belief of those times that the Holy Ghost was conferred on all persons duly baptized by the ordinary confirmation. How cunning is G[ilbert] R[ule] when it makes for his purpose. He knows not (not he indeed) what Cyprian meant by imposing the hand for the collation of the Holy Ghost; and yet when it makes for his purpose, within twelve or fourteen lines, he is so profound in the knowledge of confirmation, as that he has discovered a certain sort of extraordinary confirmation peculiar to priests which never man, for anything I know, discovered before him. But, perhaps, however he worded it, his meaning was, that Cornelius speaketh not of the ordinary imposition of the hand, but of that which belongeth to priests. Well, say he meant this; say that, thus meant, clear sense may be made of it; say that, thus understood, it has no dash of mystery in it; yet how will you absolve it from being a muddy phrase? Had it not been every whit as easy, and much more intelligible, to have said that Cornelius did not speak of the imposition of the hand in confirmation, but of the imposition of the hand in ordination? But then if this was what G[ilbert R[ule] meant, it is pure mistake. For nothing more evident in the account as Eusebius has it, (and it is only from him we have it,) than that Cornelius did notoriously distinguish this confirmation which Novatianus had not got from the Bishop, from both his ordinations, that which made him a Presbyter, and that by which he pretended to have been made a Bishop. And I think G[ilbert] R[ule] will find it no easy matter (I mean he will find it impossible) to prove that in the days of Cornelius there were others deemed priests besides Bishops and Presbyters. That Cornelius did notoriously make the distinction I have mentioned, and that his words, on which I founded my argument for the Bishop's being the minister of confirmation in his time, will not allow of G[ilbert] R[ule]'s gloss, are things so clear and plain, and evident in Eusebius's account of his Epistle, according to both Stephanus's and Valesius's editions of "Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History" in Greek, (I cannot say so much of Meredith Hanmer's English Translation,[1] for I do not pretend to be of its acquaintance), that they must be

[1] [For the allusion here, *vide supra*, cap. 2, sect. 39.—E.]

obvious to every intelligent reader, and therefore I shall insist no more on them. Only let me farther tell G[ilbert] R[ule] that his three learnedest friends, Blondel, Salmasius, and Daille, are every inch as much against him as to this testimony of Cornelius, as they were before concerning St Cyprian's.

CVIII.—Blondel most readily understands it of confirmation, and makes no question of its being one of the Bishop's ministeries. All his business is to maintain that it was not absolutely necessary, and that Presbyters were not restrained from the performance of it by any *divine law*, but only by ecclesiastical canon or custom. His account of this testimony, in short, is this—"About the year 240, Novatianus (being baptized on his sick-bed) recovering of his sickness, did not get the rest of those things which were necessary by the canons of the Church, particularly he was not confirmed by the Bishop; however, very shortly thereafter, Fabianus, Bishop of Rome, ordained him a Presbyter."[1] So Blondel, not only fairly allowing Cornelius to have meant that rite which we call confirmation, but also opposing G[ilbert] R[ule] upon another account. For Blondel, you see, says that Novatianus was ordained a Presbyter by Fabianus, the Pope of the city, very shortly after his baptism; but it is certain that Novatianus was not ordained pretended Bishop of Rome till more than a year after the death of Fabianus; so that he had been at least nine or ten years (as I remember Blondel himself calculates it somewhere) a Presbyter, before he pretended to have been made a Bishop. Now, I hope G[ilbert] R[ule] will not deny that when Novatianus was made a Presbyter, it was by ordination that he was made one; and, on the other hand, nothing more evident in Cornelius's account to Fabius of Antioch, than that the same Novatianus, when he invaded the Episcopal chair of Rome, received a new imposition of hands, a new ordination. Nothing more certain, therefore, than that by the principles of the Cyprianic

[1] Anno circiter ducentesimo quadragesimo Οὐδε τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτυχε διαφυγὼν τον νοσον, ὧν χρὴ μεταλαμβάνειν κατα τον της Εκκλησίας κανόνα, τοῦ τε σφραγισθῆναι ὑπο τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου, Nec cætera postquam morbo effugit, quæ juxta Ecclesiæ regulam suscipere oportet, nec [illegible]t ab Episcopo consignaretur adeptus est Novatianus, quem tamen paulo post ad Presbyterium promovit Fabianus urbis Papa. Apol. pro sent. Hieron. p. 210.

age, Bishops and Presbyters were (even by Blondel's allowance) made by different ordinations, and so made *different orders*. But this only by the way.

CIX.—Salmasius manifestly distinguishes between the imposition of hands in ordination and in confirmation; and for an instance of the latter he adduces the very words of Cornelius concerning Novatianus, and never so much as once offers to question its being a ministry in those times peculiar to the Bishop. Indeed, how could he, considering his concessions concerning St Cyprian's testimony which we have adduced before? You have his words concerning this testimony of Cornelius on the margin.[1]

CX.—Daille is a great deal franker concerning this testimony of Cornelius than he was concerning St Cyprian's; he mentions it oftener than once, and he always understands it of confirmation, and always grants (when he mentions this testimony) that by the customs of those times, the performance of it was an Episcopal ministration, as you may see by what is faithfully transcribed from him on the margin.[2] It

[1] Manuum autem impositio quæ fiebat ad ordinationem etiam *consignatio* dicebatur.—Hoc idem faciebant in sacramento confirmationis, quæ olim sola manuum impositione celebrabatur sine chrismate. Unde et Σφραγισθῆναι absolute, confirmationis sacramentum accipere per impositionem manuum apud Eusebium, qui Cornelii Papæ de Novatiani baptismo verba refert ad Fabium Antiochenum, "Νόσῳ περιπεσὼν χαλεπῇ, καὶ ἀποθανεῖσθαι ὅσον οὐδέπω νομιζόμενος ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κλίνῃ ᾗ ἔκειτο, περιχυθεὶς ἔλαβεν. εἴγε χρὴ λέγειν τον τοιοῦτον εἰληφέναι οὐ μὲν οὐδε τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτυχε διαφυγὼν τον νοσον ὧν χρὴ μεταλαμβάνειν κατα τον της Εκκλησίας κανόνα τοῦ τε σφραγισθῆναι ὑπο τοῦ Επισκόπου τούτου δὲ μὴ τυχὼν, πῶς ἂν τοῦ ἁγιου Πνεύματος ἔτυχε?" Quæ non solum de chrismatione possunt accipi, sed etiam de manuum impositione. Apparat. ad Lib. de Primat. p. 82, 83.

[2] Cornelius urbis Romæ Episcopus, qui post Tertulliani mortem annis non amplius quam triginta tribus floruit, de *consignatione Episcopali* et cæteris baptismi ritibus loquens, ὧν χρὴ (inquit) μεταλαμβάνειν κατα τὸν τῆς Εκκλησίας κάνονα. Non ergo Apostoli, sed Ecclesiæ hunc morem, ut et alios congeneres, posuerant. De Confirm. lib. 2, cap. 2, p. 118. Videne quemadmodum consignationem Episcopalem inter istius ævi mores Ecclesiasticos libenter agnoscat? Et infra, ejusdem libri cap. 7, ubi de hac Cornelii Romani ad Fabium Antiochenum relatione ex professo tractat, Cornelii verbis fusè fideliterque prolatis; consignationeque hac Episcopali, qua caruisse Novatianum affirmat Cornelius, conceptis verbis, ab ea, quæ in ordinatione dabatur, manuum impositione distincta; hisce verbis sui animi sensam promit Dallæus, p. 139—"Ego vero fateor illa τὰ λοιπὰ, cætera post baptismum solennia, quibus caruit Novatianus intelligi lactis et mellis prægustationem, et alias, si quæ tum erant in Ecclesiæ Romanæ usu baptismales cærimonias; quibus cum hic à Cornelio *liquido* accenseatur, τὸ σφραγισθῆναι ὑπὸ του Επισκόπου, *obsignari* ab *Episcopo*," &c. et p. 141. "Non inepte possint

is true he has some reasonings concerning confirmation taken from Cornelius's account of the baptism of Novatianus, and his not being confirmed, which I cannot so easily digest. Particularly, from Fabianus his ordaining Novatianus a Presbyter though he was not confirmed, he would gladly collect that the imposition of the hand in confirmation was only a ceremony of baptism, and therefore Novatianus, not having got it when he was baptized, Fabianus did not think it proper or allowable to give it him afterward; which yet he might have freely done, nay, might in prudence have been obliged to do, if it had been a rite distinct from baptism, and none of the appendages or ceremonies of it. So Daille reasons, I say; but to my apprehension very weakly, for I have shewn above[1] most evidently, that by the principles of those times the rite of imposing the hand for the collation of the Holy Ghost might have been performed a long time, many years after baptism; so that it is certain that which Daille founds his argument on, was not the true reason for which Fabianus did not confirm Novatianus before he ordained him a Presbyter. But this being something like digression from our present purpose, I shall at present insist no longer on it; it is enough for what we have now in hand, that Daille all along understands Cornelius of confirmation, and grants that in Cornelius's time it was a ministry belonging to the Bishop, for which I do again recommend to G[ilbert] R[ule] Daille's own words cited on the margin.

CXI.—Thus I have briefly explained what St Cyprian and his contemporaries meant by the imposition of the hand for the collation of the Holy Ghost, and shewn that the ministry of the rite, by the principles of that age, was peculiar to the Bishop. I might have pursued both points more fully, especially the last, for which I was mainly concerned; perhaps more testimonies might have been adduced for it, and

hæc ejus (Cornelii) verba πῶς ἂν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἔτυχε ? in commodiorum sensum inflecti; si, quod ait *Spiritum sanctum accipere*, id pro ipsa manus impositione, quæ Spiritus sancti symbolica erat advocatio, dictum interpretemur: qualiter non semel dictum à veteribus, *Spiritum sanctum tradere*, pro manus imponere. Sic enim planus et verus erit Cornelii sensus, sui scilicet non esset ab *Episcopo consignatus*, eum non posse (*i. e.* non licere *ex solemni tunc receptoque Ecclesiæ more*) manus impositionem (ut vel Presbyter vel Episcopus fieret) suscipere.

[1] Sect. 94.

divers other arguments might have been insisted on; particularly, (to name one or two,) what more evident in the monuments of that age than that it belonged to him who had the chief power of reconciling penitents, and granting the peace and the communion of the Church to any who were out of it, than that it belonged to that person, I say, to impose the hand for giving the Holy Ghost? and what more evident in those monuments (as we shall see hereafter)[1] than that they were the Bishops who had the chief power of granting peace and communion, and reconciling penitents? again, have I not shewn that those who lived in the Cyprianic age believed the rite of imposing the hand to be a sacrament by itself, and contradistinct from baptism? and have I not sufficiently proved in my former book, that by the principles of that age the Bishop had the supreme power of the sacraments? have I not more than sufficiently proved this in this chapter, concerning the sacrament of baptism? and is it probable that G[ilbert] R[ule] shall be able to shew me a reason why the common principles of the men of the Cyprianic age should have obliged them to appropriate the supreme power of other sacraments, but not of confirmation, to the Bishop? Let not G[ilbert] R[ule] imagine he has here got me in a circle; that is, proving first that the Bishop had the supreme power of baptism, from his having the supreme power of confirmation; and then proving that he had the supreme power of confirmation from his having the supreme power of baptism; for if he shall be at pains to consider what I have discoursed on this 13th Episcopal prerogative, he may readily find that I have used a good many more arguments for demonstrating the Bishop's sovereign power in baptism, than that one of his having the sovereign power of confirmation. This I have thought fit to warn him of, for preventing of impertinent jangling and nibbling, which some people are too much inclined to. The force of these two above mentioned reasonings might have been more fully represented, and divers other such reasonings might easily be insisted on, but the point is clear enough already; indeed, it is not questioned, for any thing I know, by any man who has any title to the characters of

[1] Chap. 7.

being both learned and ingenuous. And we have had enough about confirmation, and enough (I think by this time) of the clear evidences for the Bishop's sovereign power in baptism, which may be collected from the arguments insisted on by the advocates on both sides, in their management of the grand controversy agitated in the Cyprianic age, concerning the validity of heretical and schismatical baptisms. Proceed we, therefore,

CXII.—*Thirdly*, in a few words, to shew how the Bishop's sovereign power in baptism is most distinctly, I may say most demonstratively, pointed out by both Stephanians and Cyprianists in one of the most remarkable results of the controversy, that is, in their behaviour one towards another, and the resentments which followed upon their thus dissenting one from another. In short, Stephen Bishop of Rome excommunicated those who opposed the ratification of heretical and schismatical baptisms ;[1] and now, who were they whom he excommunicated ? were they Presbyters or Deacons ? all officers, who by the principles of that age could actually administer the holy ordinance of baptism ? were those the men, I say, against whom he did immediately and directly thunder out his curses ? nothing like it. They were the Bishops whom he excommunicated ; the Bishops, I say, as those who had it in their power to ratify such baptisms but would not ; and Presbyters and Deacons only in consequence and result—only in so far as they adhered to their Bishops who dissented from him. This we are most distinctly taught by three persons of as great reputation as were then alive, Firmilian, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia,[2] Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria,[3] and our holy martyr St

[1] [Vide Note at the end of this Chapter, p. 370.—E.]

[2] Beati Pauli verbis, Eph. iv. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, in medium adductis, sic subnectit Firmilianus—" Hæc Apostoli mandata et monita salutaria quam diligenter Stephanus implevit—— ? Quid enim humilius aut lenius quam cum tot *Episcopis* per totum mundum dissensisse ; *pacem* cum singulis vario discordiæ genere rumpentem, modo cum Orientalibus, (quod nec vos latere confidimus) modo vobiscum, qui in meridie estis ? A quibus legatos *Episcopos* patienter satis et leniter suscepit, ut eos nec ad sermonem saltem colloquii communis admitteret : adhuc insuper dilectionis et caritatis memor, præciperet fraternitati universæ, ne quis eos in domum suam reciperet ; ut venientibus non solum *pax et communio*, sed et tectum et hospitium negaretur. Ep. 75, p. 228.

[3] Ἐπεστάλκει μὲν οὖν πρότερον καὶ περὶ Ἑλένου, καὶ περὶ Φιρμιλιανοῦ καὶ πάντων των τι ἀπὸ τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας καὶ Γαλατίας, καὶ πάντων των ἐξῆς

Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage,[1] as is evident from their testimonies on the margin. On the other hand,

CXIII.—St Cyprian, though never more zealous in any cause than this, though perfectly persuaded that he, and those who sided with him, were in the right, and Stephen and his adherents were in the wrong; though so fully persuaded as that he made no scruple to load the doctrine of his adversaries with very unpleasant consequences, and even themselves with pretty hard names, as you may see by the instances on the margin,[2] and none more than Stephen, though he was Bishop of Rome, as we may see hereafter;[3]

ὁμορούντων ἐθνῶν ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκεινοις κοινωνήσων διὰ τὴν αυτὴν ταύτην ἀιτίαν, &c. apud Euseb. Lib. 7, cap. 5. In short, Dionysius says that Stephen excommunicated Helenus, Bishop of Tarsus, and Firmilian, Bishop of Cæsarea, and all the Bishops of Cilicia, and Cappadocia, and Galatia, and all the neighbouring countries, for this very reason, that they rebaptized heretics; and he calls it a bold act at best to have done so, considering how many Synods of *Bishops* were against the ratification of heretical baptisms. His words are—" Καὶ σκόπει τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πράγματος. ὄντως γὰρ δόγματα περὶ τούτου γέγονεν ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις τῶν ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΩΝ συνόδοις, ὡς πυνθάνομαι, ὥστε τοὺς προσιόντας ἀπο αἱρέσεως, προκατηχηθέντας, εἶτα ἀπολύυσασθαι καὶ ἀνακαθαιρεσθαι τὸν τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ ἀκαθάρτου ζύμης ῥῦπον."

[1] "Dat honorem Deo, qui hæreticorum amicus, et inimicus Christianorum, *sacerdotes Dei*, (*i. e.* Episcopos) veritatem Christi, et Ecclesiæ unitatem tuentes *abstinendos* putat? Si sic honor Deo datur, si sic à cultoribus et *sacerdotibus* ejus timor Dei et disciplina servatur; abjiciamus arma"——Ep. 74, p. 214. Quæ verba in Stephanum, Episcopos abstinentem, torqueri ex totius epistolæ filo manifestum est.

[2] Illud mirandum est, imo indignandum potius et dolendum; Christianos antichristis assistere, et prævaricatores fidei atque Ecclesiæ proditores, intra ipsa septa Ecclesiæ contra Ecclesiam stare. Ep. 69, p. 185——Nescio et enim qua præsumtione ducuntur quidam de *Collegis* nostris, ut putent eos qui apud hæreticos tincti sunt, quando ad nos venerint, baptizari non oportere —Ep. 71, p. 193.——Porro autem quidam de *Collegis nostris* malunt hæreticos honorem dare, quam nobis consentire: et dum unius baptismi asseveratione baptizare venientes nolunt, sic aut duo baptismata ipsi faciunt, dum et apud hæreticos baptisma esse dicunt; aut certe, quod est gravius, hæreticorum sordidam et profanam tinctionem, vero, et unico, et legitimo Ecclesiæ catholicæ baptismo præponere et præferre contendunt. *Ibid* ——Nos non debemus stuporem hæreticis patrocinio consensus nostri augere—Ep. 73, p. 199.——*Nos* (Episcopi) de Divino permissu rigamus sitientem Dei populum, *nos* custodimus terminos vitalium fontium—— cur prævaricatores veritatis, cur proditores unitatis existimamur? *Ibid.* p. 203.——Quid est igitur aliud quam participem hæreticis blasphemantibus fieri; defendere velle et asserere, quod remissam peccatorum accipere in Christi nomine possit, blasphemans graviter, et peccans in Patrem.—— *Ibid.* p. 206. Et p. 207. It is—" execranda, et detestanda res"——and —" alienis imo æternis peccatis communicare"——Sexcenta talia facile fuisset congessisse.

[3] Vide infra, chap. 9.

yet he could not think on breaking peace with them, of giving up communion with them, of abstaining or excommunicating them. Now, would you know who those his adversaries were with whom he was willing to live in peace, and entertain communion, notwithstanding of their dissenting from him, and opposing him in a matter which seemed to him of so great consequence? Read and examine all the Epistles he wrote about this controversy, and you shall always find they were his Colleagues, the Bishops. Nay, more than once he says in most plain and express terms, that he will not break peace with any Bishop upon the account of their ratifying heretical or schismatical baptisms.[1] And the same he says concerning another controversy likewise agitated in those days about baptisms, viz. about the integrity of baptism performed by sprinkling.[2] They were the Bishops, I say, and the Bishops alone, whom he said he would not break peace with, whom he would not excommunicate upon the account of either of these controversies; and now I can refer it to the impartial and judicious reader to determine if a clearer demonstration of the Bishop's sovereign power in baptism can be desired than this.

CXIV.—Thus I have insisted somewhat largely on the Bishop's sovereign power of baptism, according to the principles of St Cyprian and his contemporaries. I wish

[1] Rescripsi, frater carissime, ad literas tuas, (super hac controversia de hæreticorum baptismo), quantum parva nostra mediocritas valuit——Nemini præscribentes quo minus statuat quod putat *unusquisque Præpositus*, actus sui rationem Domino redditurus——Ep. 69, p. 188, ad Magnum.

Hæc tibi breviter——rescripsimus, frater carissime, nemini præscribentes aut præjudicantes, quo minus *unusquisque Episcoporum* quod putat faciat, ——Nos quantum in nobis est, propter hæreticos cum *Collegis et coepiscopis nostris* non contendimus, cum quibus divinam concordiam et Dominicam pacem tenemus——Servatur à nobis patienter et firmiter caritas animi, *collegii* honor, vinculum fidei et concordia *sacerdotii*. Ad Jubaianum, Ep. 73, p. 209, 210.

Vide plura imprimis huc spectantia, in proloquio ad Con. Carth. nobis hactenus sæpius repetita.

"Hæc ad conscientiam tuam"—(sic Synodus quædam Africana Stephanum alloquitur, Ep. inter Cyprianicas, 72, p. 197, 198, quæ tota de hæreticorum baptismo est), "et pro honore communi,——Ceterum scimus quosdam quod semel imbiberint nolle deponere, nec propositum suum facile mutare, sed salvo inter *Collegas* pacis et concordiæ vinculo——Qua in re nec *nos* vim cuiquam facimus aut legem damus, cum habeat in Ecclesiæ administratione voluntatis suæ arbitrium liberum *unusquisque Præpositus*"——

[2] Vide Ep. 69, p. 185.

my prosecution of this Episcopal prerogative may not seem tedious to the reader; and that it may not, let me tell him, that besides that I am not to insist on it every day, and was resolved, once for all, to assert it—besides this, I say, let the reader know that I have digested my thoughts as succinctly as I could—(perhaps another could have done it better and more briefly)—I have omitted many things that might have made for the purpose—I have an adversary to deal with, who (whether through ignorance or obstinacy I shall not presume to determine), is not to be convinced by hints; and my countrymen seem to need to be a little fully informed in such matters. There is likewise this advantage I proposed to myself in the full prosecution of this point, that besides that it is a matter of great consequence, and irrefragably defeats G[ilbert] R[ule]'s second main subterfuge, by my management of this prerogative, the judicious reader may perceive how possible it might have been for me to have discussed G[ilbert] R[ule]'s book very fully and demonstratively, had I had a mind for it.

[Vide page 367.—Our author asserts there the *certainty* of Stephen's having excommunicated St Cyprian and the Asiatic Bishops. This was doubtless *his* opinion, and he being a learned Divine, it is important; yet it must not be concealed that others, equally learned, have thought differently. All are agreed that the controversy raged violently between Stephen and Cyprian. (This is sufficient for Anglicans against the Papal supremacy.) But whether the former proceeded to the extremity of excommunication against the Asiatics and Africans must, in the absence of positive evidence, remain an open question. Perhaps on this obscure point of history moderate persons of both sides will be satisfied with the opinion of the renowned Bishop of Hippo.—"Stephanus autem etiam abstinendos putaverat—Iste autem quæstionis ipsius difficultate permotus, et sanctis charitatis visceribus largissime præditus, in unitate cum eis manendum qui diversa sentirent. Ita quamvis commotius, sed tamen fraterne indignetur, vicit tamen pax Christi in cordibus eorum, ut in tali disceptatione nullum inter eos malum schismatis oriretur, St Aug. De Bapt. lib. v. cap. 37. Ed. Paris, 1837.—But should the reader wish to pursue the investigation, he may do so easily, by referring to "the Testimony of St Cyprian against Rome," by the Rev. George Ayliffe Poole, p. 187, &c. &c., and to "St Cyprian Vindicated against certain Misrepresentations of his Doctrine, in a work by the Rev. G. A. Poole," by the Rev. F. C. Husenbeth, chap. xi. p. 102, &c. &c., where the question is treated with much learning, and the arguments on each side are put in the best light, according to the decidedly opposite opinions of these eminent controversialists.—E.]

CHAPTER VII.

G[ILBERT] R[ULE]'S SECOND MAIN SUBTERFUGE—VIZ. THAT A BISHOP IN ST CYPRIAN'S TIME HAD ONLY MORE DIGNITY, BUT NOT MORE POWER THAN PRESBYTERS—FINALLY OVERTHROWN BY A BRIEF REPRESENTATION OF THE BISHOP'S SOVEREIGN INTEREST IN SOME OF THE MOST WEIGHTY AND EMINENT ACTS OF GOVERNMENT.

Sect. I. ALL Acts of Government in the Church, as in other political bodies, may be competently, as they are commonly reduced to two heads, *legislation* and *jurisdiction*, the making of laws, and the execution of them for the good of the society. If, therefore, it can be shewn, that by the principles of the Cyprianic age, the Bishop had a sovereign interest in both these, I cannot see what can be farther requisite for giving the final overthrow to this subterfuge of G[ilbert] R[ule]'s. Let us try it then in both, and begin with the power of legislation.

II.—Laws, canons, constitutions, statutes, decrees, rules, forms, (call them as you will), with regard to the government of Churches, in the Cyprianic age, were either of a more confined and restricted, or a more extended and diffused obligation Some reached only single Diocesan Churches; others, provinces; and a third sort there was which reached the whole Church Catholic; and without hesitation, I do affirm that by the principles of that age, the Bishop's interest was sovereign in making laws or canons for the regulation of his own diocese; and so far as can be learned from the monuments of those times, it was something more than sovereign, it was *sole* in making laws or canons for the regulation of provincial Churches and the Church Catholic.

III.—I. I say the Bishop's interest, by the principles of

that age, was sovereign in making canons for the regulation of his own diocese—I say sovereign—I do not say sole, because I am unwilling to have unnecessary controversies with G[ilbert] R[ule], though had I said [sole], I might have had very plausible arguments (more plausible, I dare confidently aver, than G[ilbert] R[ule] can have for most of those things he has so confidently affirmed in his book) for saying so ; for,

IV.—1. There are many very plain assertions in the Cyprianic monuments, which would seem so clearly to import the Bishop's absolute power of giving laws to his own diocese, as perhaps it may trouble G[ilbert] R[ule] or any of his party solidly to avoid their tendency that way. Such assertions as these, " that every Bishop has freedom to determine matters relating to his own Church by virtue of his own absolute and independent power[1]—that every Bishop, so long as he maintains Catholic unity, may order and dispose the affairs of his own Church, as he thinks he can answer to God[2]—that every Bishop has a portion of the common flock (the Catholic Church) assigned to him, to be ruled and governed by him, for which he is accountable to God only[3]—that every Bishop may [statuere] make statutes as he thinks fit within his own district[4]—that every Bishop has the free determination of his own will in the administration of his Church[5]—that every Bishop has so much the free power of his own arbitriment, that he may do in his own diocese what seems good unto him."[6] These are very full assertions of the Episcopal power, so full, that I cannot think G[ilbert] R[ule] would ever have had the courage to have questioned the Episcopal sovereignty, if he had had the good fortune to have considered them. I need not here transcribe St Cyprian's own words, having done that more than once in this book. All, therefore, I have to say, is, that G[ilbert] R[ule] may happen to find it no easy work to make these assertions handsomely piece in with his hypothesis. One limitation I shall readily admit of, because I am assured St Cyprian himself would readily have admitted it ; namely, " that every particular Bishop had this power only in matters undetermined by the Word of God, or by the

[1] Conc. Carthag. p. 229. [2] Ep. 55, p. 110. [3] Ep. 59, p. 136.
[4] Ep. 69, p. 188. [5] Ep. 72, p. 198. [6] Ep. p. 73, 210.

canons or radicated customs of the Catholic Church, or by the common authority of the province in which he had his diocese." But this limitation can be of no use to G[ilbert] R[ule], no limitation can be useful to him, but such as might have tied up the Bishop from attempting to make any canon without the concurrent voices of the major part of the presbytery; which limitation the aforesaid assertions do not seem to me very inclinable to admit of; especially if

V.—2. We consider what St Cyprian's practice was while he was in his retirement. Search all the Epistles written by him during that time, and you may find that sometimes he had a Deacon, sometimes a Lector, or an Acolyth, sometimes no clergyman at all with him, but you shall never find one Carthaginian Presbyter named by him, or intimated to have been with him all that while. On the contrary, as it is plain that their presence in the city was the more necessary because he was absent, so you may find him fairly insinuating, and very frequently too, that he left them all behind in it, as those who might stay in it more securely and freer of all hazard than himself could have done; and you may find him frequently "wishing to be with them," &c. which, I think, is argument enough that they were not with him when he wrote so.[1] And yet during that same time of his retirement, you may find him giving laws to his Presbyters and Deacons, sometimes in matters of lesser consequence, and sometimes of greater.

VI.—While thus in his retirement, he sends them particular orders concerning the poor,[2] visiting the confessors in prison,[3] recording particularly and accurately the

[1] Et quoniam mihi interesse nunc non permittit loci conditio; peto vos (Presbyteri et Diaconi) pro fide et religione vestra, fungamini illic et vestris partibus et meis; ut nihil vel ad disciplinam vel ad diligentiam desit. Ep. 5, p. 10. Saluto vos—optans cito ad vos venire, ut desiderio tam meo quam vestro et omnium fratrum satisfiat. Oportet nos tamen paci communi consulere, et interdum, quamvis cum tædio animi nostri, deesse vobis, (Presbyteris et Diaconibus) ne præsentia nostri invidiam et violentiam gentilium provocet. Ep. 7, p. 14.

"Fretus ergo et dilectione et religione vestra, quam satis novi, his literis et hortor et *mando;* ut vos (Presbyteri et Diaconi,) quorum minime illic (Carthagini) invidiosa et non adeo periculosa præsentia est, vice mea fungamini"——Ep. 14, p. 31. His paria plurima facillime possent colligi.

[2] Ep. 5, p. 10; Ep. 7, p. 14; Ep. 12, p. 28; Ep. 14, p. 31.

[3] Ep. 5, p. 11; Ep. 12, p. 27; Ep. 14, p. 32.

days on which any martyrs or confessors died in prison, that afterwards due regards might be paid to their memories.[1] He constitutes them his vicars, and commands them to do both his work and their own.[2] He orders them to communicate such and such of his Epistles to the people, and of others of them to give copies to such stranger Bishops or clergymen as at any time should happen to be in the city.[3] All these things he enjoins authoritatively, and in the style of a superior, as is evident to any who reads the Epistles in which they are contained. But least these should be deemed matters of lesser consequence, I add that even in matters which were then reputed (and deservedly) of very great importance, he exercised this his legislative power. I have already fully accounted how his Presbyters and Deacons wrote to him for a form to be observed by them with regard to the lapsers, and told what form he sent them, and how he himself called it a law which he then gave them.[4] But this is not all, he likewise peremptorily forbade them to reconcile any lapsers otherwise than he had ordered them to be reconciled, and he not only condemned it as an unaccountable and unexampled presumption if they should offer to reconcile those lapsers otherwise than he had prescribed, but he added a very severe sanction to his law. (And what is a law but the will of a lawgiver, with a sanction added to it?) He threatens them with a suspension from the exercise of their office,[5] nay, even with excommunication itself,[6] if they should transgress. G[ilbert] R[ule] when at leisure may try how this argument may be hindered from concluding that by the principles of the

[1] Ep. 12, p. 27.

[2] Ep. 5, p. 10; Ep. 14, p. 31.

[3] Ep. 11, p. 26; Ep. 17, p. 40; Ep. 20, p. 43; Ep. 26, p. 51.

[4] Supra, cap. 5, sect. 20, &c.

[5] Interim temerarii et incauti et tumidi quidam inter vos, (Presbyteros) qui hominem non cogitent, vel Deum timeant; *scientes* quoniam si ultra in iisdem perseveraverint (si lapsis, contra quam mandavi, pacem dederint), utar ea admonitione, qua me uti Dominus jubet; ut interim prohibeantur *offerre*——Ep. 16, p. 38.

[6] Interea si quis immoderatus et præceps, sive de *nostris Presbyteris* vel *Diaconibus*, sive de peregrinis ausus fuerit ante sententiam nostram communicare cum lapsis, à communicatione nostra arceatur; apud omnes nos (Episcopos in concilio congregatos), causam dicturus temeritatis suæ, quando in unum permittente Domino, convenerimus. Ep. 34, p. 68.

Cyprianic age, the Bishop even by himself might have given laws to all his Clergy, Presbyters, as well as others. I doubt he shall not find it very easy, especially if it be farther considered,

VII.—3. That this power of giving laws by himself to his Presbyters and Deacons, seems not only naturally, but necessarily to result from divers of the prerogatives accounted for in the preceding chapters, *e. g.* What master of a ship is not enabled upon occasion to give orders to the rest of the mariners? How can any one have the balance of government in his hand, without a power to restrain subordinate governors from acting in some cases, and to oblige them to act so and so in others? To what purpose is it to make one chief priest, and subject all other priests to him, (nay, how can this be done) without obliging the subjected priests in many cases to obey his authority? And what can be for a chief pastor who can give no laws, prescribe no rules to inferior and dependent pastors? Or for a commander-in-chief in an army, who can on no occasion without the consent of the major part in a council of war, give orders to inferior officers? Or for a supreme magistrate that cannot in any case by himself give laws to inferior magistrates? Once more,

VIII.—4. The Bishop's power of giving laws to his Presbyters and Deacons is most evidently contained in that famous passage of our Martyr's, Ep. 14. The matter in short is this—four of his Presbyters had by an epistle represented to him while in his retirement the eagerness of some lapsers to be reconciled to the Church, and had required his determination, his will and pleasure in the matter. This, for anything we can learn, was the first account he had got of the precipitancy of those lapsers, and their unreasonable and unseasonable urgency to be restored to the peace of the Church. No wonder, therefore, if it surprized him, and he had not digested his thoughts to reply about it, as afterwards he did when he had got more informations, and had more time to consider it. Wherefore he returns this answer—"As to that which my fellow Presbyters, Donatus and Fortunatus, Novatus and Gordius, wrote to me, I can return no answer, seeing when I first entered on my Episcopal office, I determined to do nothing by my-

self without your advice and the consent of my people."[1] The matter thus truly represented, these things are plain, 1. That those four Presbyters supposed that as Bishop he had power to have given a present resolution of the case they proposed to him—a present order concerning the reconciliation of the lapsers. Had they not supposed this, their epistle to him had been notorious banter, and he had surely resented it at another rate than he did; for in such an afflicted and mortifying state of the Church, when she was under such a violent persecution as had made him retire from his charge, what else had it been than a plain ridiculing of him to have required him to give orders about it? Nothing plainer, therefore, than that they supposed he had power to have given the orders they required. Agreeably, 2. The grain of his answer keeps pace exactly with such a supposition: he could not give the orders they demanded, why? because when he entered to his Bishopric [*statuerat*] he had resolved or determined to do nothing without the aforesaid advice and consent. The very word he uses, (as I said in my former book,[2] so I say yet,) manifestly implies that there was no more in it than his own voluntary condescension. It was a thing he was not bound to by any divine prescript, or any apostolical tradition, or any ecclesiastical constitution, viz. thus to determine with himself to do nothing without the advice of his clergy and the consent of his people. And whatever G[ilbert] R[ule] has been pleased to say against it,[3] I had good reason to put [STATUERIM] in capital letters, as emphatically signifying that it was entirely the result of his own free choice that he did so determine, and had he pleased he needed not have done it. And let me tell G[ilbert] R[ule] that his suggestion, viz. "That it is usual with good men, when they enter on an office, to resolve to keep within the bounds of their power; to manage it lawfully, as well as to cede in what is their right;"[4] when applied to the business in hand, in the sense

[1] Ad id vero quod scripserunt mihi compresbyteri nostri Donatus et Fortunatus, Novatus et Gordius, solus rescribere nihil potui; quando à primordio Episcopatus mei *statuerim*, nihil sine consilio vestro (Presbyteriorum et Diaconorum) et sine consensu plebis, mea privatim sententia gerere—Ep. 14, p. 33.

[2] Principles of the Cyprianic Age, p. 51.

[3] Cyprianic Bishop Examined, sect. 41, p. 57.

[4] *Ibid.*

he means it, is next neighbour to ridiculous. For it is as if St Cyprian, when some of his Presbyters wrote to him for a form, should have answered, he could give them no form because it was not in the power of a Bishop to give forms to Presbyters. Now, besides that if St Cyprian had meant so, it had been as easy, as it was necessary, for him to have worded it otherwise—besides that the words he has actually used cannot be strained by any violence to admit of G[ilbert] R[ule]'s gloss—besides these things, I say, we have a demonstration that he meant no more, nor no other than his own voluntary condescension, viz. that afterwards whilst still in his retirement, he did actually by himself, and without asking either the advice of his clergy (nay, contrary to their inclinations) or the consent of his people, prescribe a form to them in this very same case of the lapsers, as we have already seen.[1]

IX.—Neither can it be reasonably objected, that in doing so he did not stand to his resolution which he had made when he had entered to his Bishopric; for common equity will readily allow that all such resolutions are to be favourably constructed, and he who makes them is always master of them. They are rules which governors may lay down to *themselves*, to be observed by *them only* for the most part,—not peremptorily and precisely in every case, not in cases extraordinary, and which they could not possibly have foreseen when they made such resolutions. In short, no man can reasonably say, that it is imprudently done of governors to lay down to themselves general measures to steer by in the ordinary course of their administration; and no man can reasonably say that no cases can happen in which it may not only be prudent, but necessary for them to recede from those measures; and common sense will say that he who can recede from measures he had laid down to himself, (as we find St Cyprian did) had it in his own power, before he laid down such measures to himself, to have laid them down or not. And so much concerning this passage at present; we shall have another occasion by and by to consider what more G[ilbert] R[ule] has said about it.

X.—From these considerations I have briefly represented, (and many more might have been added), it is manifest

[1] Supra, sect. 6.

that a Bishop in St Cyprian's time could by himself, by his own singular authority, in many cases give laws to all within his diocese, Presbyters as well as others. We have most clearly seen that St Cyprian (one of the humblest and condescendingest of all the primitive Bishops) actually did it; and that in doing it, he did nothing amiss—nothing contrary to the current principles of his time—nothing but what those principles warranted, nay, sometimes required him to do; so that there is no reason to think he was singular in it. There is rather reason to believe that it was done very ordinarily by every Bishop as he had occasion, and yet I am very far from affirming that it was always so. I shall most willingly and readily confess, that for the most part Bishops made no canons, gave no laws to their dioceses, without the advice of their clergy, especially their Presbyters. Their Presbyters, I say, did ordinarily sit with them, and were a senate to them, as St Jerome words it; and without the advice of this senate they did not ordinarily proceed in either acts of legislation or jurisdiction. So we read, Ep. 49, written by Cornelius to St Cyprian, in which he tells him, that when divers who had formerly sided with Novatianus were earnest to be reconciled to the true Church, he convocated the Presbytery and asked their opinions, that the matter might be done with consent of all;[1] and Ep. 53, those persons who were thus reconciled to the Catholic Church give an account to St Cyprian, that they had made their peace with Cornelius their Bishop, and with all the clergy.[2] And St Cyprian, Ep. 45, makes mention of the Presbyters who sate with Cornelius; and Ep. 59,[3]

[1] Omni igitur actu ad me perlato, placuit contrahi *Presbyterium*. Adfuerunt etiam Episcopi quinque, qui et hodie præsentes fuerunt, ut firmato consilio, quid circa personam eorum observari deberet, consensu omnium (si modo *omnium* etiam ad Presbyteros extendendum sit, et non ad solos Episcopos coarctandum) statueretur: et ut motum omnium et consilium singulorum dignosceres, etiam sententias nostras placuit in notitiam vestri proferri, quas et subjectas leges. His ita gestis, in *Presbyterium* venerunt Maximus, Urbanus, Sidonius et Macarius, et plerique fratres qui se eis adjunxerant—Ep. 49, p. 92, 93.

[2] —Nos habito consilio—cum Cornelio Episcopo nostro pariter et cum universo *Clero* pacem fecisse, cum gaudio etiam universæ Ecclesiæ—Ep. 53, p. 98.

[3] Et idcirco, frater carissime, cum ad me talia de te et *compresbyteris* tecum *considentibus* scripta venissent—Ep. 45, p. 87.

of the most flourishing clergy who presided with him, or, as some copies have it, were present with him ;[1] and Ep. 40, when our martyr from the place of his retirement sends Numidicus to Carthage to be one of the Presbyters of that Church, he tells the rest of his Presbyters, and his Deacons, and all the people, " that the special hand of God was in it, who had preserved the said Numidicus, that he might join him (says he,) to my clergy, and might adorn the desolation of my Presbytery with glorious priests—and we hope from the divine mercy, many ornaments of this kind, and that he shall make such meek and humble persons to flourish in the honour of our *consistory*."[2] And again he makes mention of the assembly or consistory of his clergy, Ep. 59.[3] And Ep. 39, he tells his Presbyters, and Deacons, and people, that though at that time he had made Aurelius and Celerinus lectors only, yet he designed that when they should be of age, they should be promoted to the honour of Presbyters, and should sit with him.[4] And to the same purpose he writes concerning Numidicus, Ep. 40, viz. that his will was that Numidicus should be listed in the number of Carthaginian Presbyters, and *sit* with him,[5] no doubt in the [consessus] in the consistory or Ecclesiastical senate.

[1] Et quanquam sciam, frater carissime, pro mutua dilectione quam debemus, et exhibemus invicem nobis, florentissimo illic *Clero* tecum *præsidenti*, (*præsenti* legunt quidam Codd MSS.) et sanctissimæ atque amplissimæ plebi legere te semper literas nostras—Ep. 59, p. 139.

[2] Sed (Numidico inter vivos) remanendi——hæc fuit causa, ut cum *Clero nostro* Dominus adjungeret, et desolatam per lapsum quorundam *Presbyterii nostri* copiam, gloriosis sacerdotibus adornaret——Interim quod ostenditur fiat, ut cum gratiarum actione suscipiamus hoc Dei munus, sperantes de misericordia Domini ejusmodi ornamenta complura ; ut redintegrato Ecclesiæ suæ robore, tam mites, et humiles faciat in *consessus nostri* honore florere. Ep. 40, p. 79.

[3] ——" Quid superest quam ut Ecclesia Capitolio (vides etiam Carthagini fuisse Capitolium) cedat, et recedentibus sacerdotibus, ac Domini altare removentibus, in *Cleri nostri sacrum venerandumque consessum*, simulacra atque idola cum aris suis transeant"——Ep. 59, p. 139. Ubi forte *consessus* locum significat in quo Clerus considere solebat, sed res eodem redit.

[4] Ceterum Presbyterii honorem designasse nos illis (Celerino nempe et Aurelio lectoribus hactenus duntaxat factis) jam *sciatis*, ut et sportulis iisdem cum Presbyteris honorentur, et divisiones mensurnas æquatis quantitatibus partiantur, *sessuri* nobiscum provectis et corroboratis annis suis——Ep. 39, p. 78.

[5] —Numidicus Presbyter adscribatur Presbyterorum Carthaginiensium numero, et nobiscum *sedeat* in Clero. Ep. 40, p. 78.

So it was at Rome and Carthage, and so, doubtless, all the world over, particularly at Alexandria, where, as we are told by Origen in an Epistle recorded by Eusebius,[1] "Heraclas *sate* in the Presbytery of the Alexandrians," that is, was a Presbyter, one of those who sate in the Ecclesiastical senate, while Demetrius was Bishop.

XI.—This, as I have said, I shall readily grant was the ordinary and stated course of government. It was not always, but on such and such occasions, and in such and such circumstances, that the Bishop interposed with his absolute and singular authority. Ordinarly, and for the most part, he brought matters to the *Consessus*, to the Presbytery, and did not proceed without the advice of his clergy, especially his Presbyters, who alone had the honour to *sit* with him; and no doubt, Bishops in this did act very prudently. No doubt, the truth of such aphorisms as these—"Where no counsel is, the people perish or fall, but in the multitude of counsellors is safety," Prov. xi. 14, and "Without counsel purposes are disappointed, but in the multitude of counsellors they are established," *ibid.* cap. xv. 22, and "Every purpose is established by counsel," *ibid.* cap. xx. 18, is indisputable; and the state of affairs, and the circumstances Bishops were then in, made it obviously prudent for them to do as few things as they could without common consent. But then I do affirm that a Bishop, *e. g.* St Cyprian, for all that, had a sovereign power; such a power, as that all his Presbyters joined together, all concurring in one opinion, in one resolution, in one vote, could not make a canon without him, and far less against him. This follows necessarily and unavoidably from the preceding considerations insisted on, Sect. IV., V., VI., VII., VIII., IX. And we have a most remarkable instance of this his sovereignty, and that even the major part of his Presbyters could do nothing against him, clearly recorded in his Epistles and other monuments. This instance, that the major part of his Presbyters united their resolutions, and joined their heads against him, and yet were condemned all the world over not only by the Bishops but even by their brethren Presbyters. The matter, in short, is this—He was Bishop of

[1] ——Καὶ τὸν νῦν ἐν τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καθεζόμενον Ἀλεξανδρέων Ἡρακλᾶν—— Euseb. Ec. Hist. lib. 6, cap. 10.

Carthage, and when he wrote his 43d Epistle (the 40th according to Pamelius's numbers) there were only eight Presbyters belonging to the Church of Carthage; of these eight, five, viz. Fortunatus, Jovinus, Maximus, Donatus, and Gordius, united their counsels against him; and three only, Britius, Rogatianus, and Numidicus, stood with him. Had he been no more than a simple moderator of the Presbytery, it is manifest he had been fairly and legally and irreprehensibly out-voted, for he and his three made in all but four, and there were five against them; and yet all the world judged the five guilty, guilty of rebellion against him their Bishop, and ratified and confirmed his sentence of excommunication which he pronounced against them. Whoso is curious to see this Episcopal sovereignty more fully accounted for, and how his Presbyters could do nothing without him, and far less against him, let him turn to the "Principles of the Cyprianic Age," and read from page 64 to page 86; for what G[ilbert] R[ule] has said against what is there discoursed is so infinitely weak and impertinent, that I do not think it necessary to say one word in vindication of it.

XII.—To conclude this branch of the Episcopal sovereignty, his legislative power, the whole account amounts to this—A Bishop in the Cyprianic age, by the received principles of that age, had such a power, as that by himself, when he thought it expedient, he could have given laws to all his clergy, Presbyters as well as others, and that he did it not always was the result of prudence, not any defect of power. In a word, I cannot express it better than St Jerome has done before me. When he did things in the ordinary current course of government by the advice of his clergy, he followed the example of Moses, "who, though he had it in his power to be the sole governor of Israel, yet choosed out seventy to assist him in judging the people."[1] Only one inference let me here make. It is, that if the Bishops of the Cyprianic age had such an absolute power as I have accounted for, and if they, notwithstanding this their absolute power, did yet judge it prudent in most cases to act by the advice of their respective Presbyteries, then it must needs follow that they did not judge themselves bound to act always absolutely; but that it was very lawful, as well

[1] In comment. in Epist. ad Titum.

as prudential for them to restrict themselves in the ordinary administration of their government, so far as to act with counsel and advice. From this it follows, that even the Bishops of the Cyprianic age themselves being judges, there is no error in our Scottish Constitution[1] whereby Bishops are limited to act with the advice and consent of their Presbyters in making canons, and in performing ordinations, and all weighty and momentous acts of jurisdiction. And certainly their Episcopal sovereignty is saved by their having a negative over their Presbyters, by having such a power as that their Presbyters can do nothing without them, or in opposition to them. But if this be so, then it is very plain that G[ilbert] R[ule] made but a very weak and ineffectual attack in the 5th page of his book, when he pretended that I did not make my Scottish Bishops (as he calls them) such Bishops as I had made those of the Cyprianic age; for now he may see I made our Scottish Bishops the same very thing that the Bishops of the Cyprianic age made themselves in the ordinary course of their government. Nay, he may farther see that all the difference (if there was any considerable) between the Cyprianic and the Scottish Bishops is, so far from making for, that it most manifestly makes against Scottish Presbyterians, in that so much as is of it lies here, that the Cyprianic Bishops, though commonly they acted with consent of their Presbyters, yet were they not bound up by canons from acting absolutely, when they saw occasion for it; whereas our Scottish Bishops are limited by the very Constitution to do nothing of consequence by themselves; and by consequence, there is not now that hazard of arbitrary government in Scotland as there was all the world over in the days of St Cyprian. And so I proceed to consider,

XIII.—II. The interest the Bishops of the Cyprianic age had in provincial councils; and here, without scruple, I lay down this position, "that in provincial councils, whether in making of canons or determining of cases, or deciding of controversies, or forming of sentences, or inflicting of censures, &c. Bishops alone had definitive voices." This is obviously a point of considerable consequence, and if it can be

[1] [It might be made a question, whether or not the working of the Scottish Constitution tends to intimidate the Episcopate, and to inspire the Presbyterate with a feeling of independence, quite unbecoming in an inferior order which possesses no inherent governing authority.—E.]

made to appear to be true, G[ilbert] R[ule,] I think, will have enough to do if he shall undertake to defend his "Examination of the Cyprianic Bishop." I shall therefore endeavour to prove it, and remove all the little objections that may be raised against it. It might be proved

XIV.—1. By an induction of all the canons, &c. which in those days were made in provincial councils; thus, for example, the canon mentioned by St Cyprian, Ep. 1, forbidding clergymen to be nominated tutors or curators to minors, was made by Bishops met in council.[1] And the canon allowing adulterers to do penance and to be reconciled, mentioned Ep. 55, was clearly enacted by the Episcopal authority.[2] So was the canon (shall I call it, or resolve,) mentioned by our martyr, Ep. 48, about not writing to Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, till they should more fully understand the state of the controversy between him and Novatianus.[3] And what greater evidence can we have for any thing, than we have for the Bishop's sole power of defining in provincial councils in those Synodical Epistles, which are extant among St Cyprian's? *e. g.* The 57th is written to Cornelius by forty-one Bishops congregated in council, which Bishops, all over the Epistle, do still suppose that they had the government of their respective churches in their own hands; and therefore, though in a former council they had made a canon obliging all lapsers to complete their satisfactions before their reconciliation, yet, now that a fresh persecution was so apparently imminent, they had judged

[1] —"Cum jam pridem in concilio *Episcoporum* statutum sit, ne quis de clericis, et Dei ministris tutorem vel curatorem testamento suo constituat" —Ep. 1, p. 1, et rursus—"Quod *Episcopi* antecessores nostri religiose considerantes, et salubriter providentes, consuerunt ne quis frater excedens, ad tutelam vel curam clericum nominaret." *Ibid.* p. 2.

[2] —"Nam et mœchis à *nobis* pœnitentiæ tempus conceditur, et pax datur"—Ep. 55, p. 109. A nobis inquit, nempe Episcopis, ut patet. *Ibid.* p. 110, ubi sic—"Et quidem apud antecessores nostros, quidam de *Episcopis* istic in provincia nostra dandam pacem mœchis non putaverunt, et in totum pœnitentiæ locum contra adulteria clauserunt"—Ep. 55, p. 110.

[3] Sed cum statuissemus *Collegæ* complures, qui in unum convenieramus, ut legatis ad vos *coepiscopis nostris* Caldonio et Fortunato missis, omnia interim integra suspenderentur, donec ad nos iidem *Collegæ* nostri rebus illic aut ad pacem redactis, aut pro veritate compertis, redirent. Presbyteri et Diaconi in Adrumetina consistentes, Polycarpo co-episcopo nostro absente; ignorabant quid nobis in commune placuisset——Ep. 48, p. 90, 91.

it reasonable to mitigate the severity of that preceding canon, and restore the penitents to the communion of the Church before the persecution should turn violent; that receiving the Sacrament of our Lord's body and blood, they might be armed and fortified against the fury of it.[1] And, Ep. 64, sixty-six Bishops met in council, give their resolution of two cases proposed to them by one Fidus, one concerning their *colleague* Therapius, the other concerning the time of giving baptism to infants. Fidus had told them that Therapius, Bishop of Bulla, had precipitantly, unseasonably, and contrary to the canons, absolved one Victor, a Presbyter who had lapsed, and their resolution is, that their *colleague* Therapius be rebuked for such precipitancy, and told to do no more so; but the sentence of absolution once pronounced by him must not be revoked.[2] Fidus had likewise craved their resolution of this case, whether infants might be baptized the second or third day after they were born, or whether their baptism should be delayed till the eighth day, according to the ancient law concerning circumcision? And they are peremptory that that old law is not in force. Infants may be baptized any day after their nativity.[3] And, Ep. 67, 70, and 72, do most brightly contain that Bishops were the only definers in Synods. In short, in all these five Synodical Epistles I have named, Bishops are not only the *sole* subscribers, but they still talk of themselves as those who had it in their power to order such matters as are

[1] Vide Ep. 57, Ad Pam. Num. 54.

[2] Legimus literas tuas, frater carissime, quibus significasti de Victore quondam Presbytero, quod ei, antequam pœnitentiam plenam egisset—— temere Therapius *collega* noster (omnes ergo illi, quorum nomine scripta Epistola, Therapii collegæ, *i. e.* Episcopi), immaturo tempore et præ propera festinatione pacem dederit. Quæ res nos satis movit, secessum esse decreti nostri auctoritate——Sed librato apud nos diu consilio, satis fuit objurgare Therapium *Collegam nostrum*, quod temere hoc fecerit, et instruxisse, ne quid tale de cetero faciat. Pacem tamen quomodocunque à *sacerdote Dei* (*i. e.* Episcopo), semel datam non putavimus auferendam, ac per hoc Victori communicationem sibi concessam usurpare permisimus. Ep. 64, p. 158.

[3] "Quantum vero ad causam infantium pertinet—longe aliud in concilio nostro omnibus visum est. In hoc enim quod tu putabas esse faciendum, (in octavum usque nempe diem differendum esse baptismum) nemo consensit," p. 158, 160, et rursus 161.—" Iccirco, frater carissime, hæc fuit in concilio (nempe 66 Episcoporum) nostra sententia, à baptismo atque à gratia Dei—neminem per nos debere prohibere."

treated of in those Epistles. Indeed, nothing clearer than this Episcopal prerogative of the definitive voice in provincial councils, from the constitution of such councils which met before St Cyprian was a Bishop for determining the famous controversy about Easter, as we learn from Eusebius.[1]

XV.—It had been easy to have adduced some other instances, but for brevity, I shall only insist on two more, such two as are indeed as good as two hundred, when they are thoroughly considered;—the one concerning those who had lapsed under the violence of the Decian persecution, the other concerning the validity of heretical and schismatical baptisms. Whoso shall seriously digest and ponder what may be found in the Cyprianic monuments relating to these two matters, shall be forced to acknowledge (as far as plain evidence can force him) that Bishops were the only definers in the Synods convocated to define in them. I begin with the case of the lapsers.

XVI.—The Decian persecution, by its mighty violence, prevailed with vast numbers of Christians to renounce the faith, and sacrifice to the heathen deities. Such were called lapsers. So soon as the heat of the persecution abated, these lapsers trusting to their numbers, and particularly at Carthage, encouraged by some of the clergy who retained old grudges against St Cyprian's promotion to the Bishopric, turned out of measure urgent to be restored to the communion of the Church before they had completed the satisfactions prescribed by the ancient canons and customs of the Church. Hereupon, St Cyprian being Bishop, was pressed, or rather almost oppressed with addresses, letters, solicitations, intercessions, threatenings, all sorts of arguments, from martyrs, from confessors, from the lapsers themselves, from his clergy, from all hands, to grant indulgences, that is, to dispense with the canons, and absolve the lapsers sooner than was allowed by the common course of his discipline. To all which onsets he returns for answer this for substance—that it was not reasonable that he by himself in such a case should give indulgences, or alter the common course of discipline. The persecution had had fatal success in many other churches besides his of Carthage. It was, therefore,

[1] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 5, cap. 23, 24.

a matter of common concern, and in all reason determinable by common consent and common authority. Let the Church once have peace; let it be safe for Bishops to meet in Synods, and adjust matters, interchange sentiments, and communicate counsels, consider circumstances, and agree on one common method, in a case in which the common interest of churches was so palpably concerned. This, I say, is the substance of his answer to all the applications were made to him. And that which I take notice of in it is, that such a case cannot be determined but by Synods, or Councils, or Convocations of Bishops. Of *Bishops*, I say, as being the *only* persons who had power and authority to determine in such a case, to define in such an exigence.

XVII.—There are few things for which testimonies can be more plentifully adduced from his Epistles than for this. Take the following specimen:—In his 17th Epistle he most heartily beseeches his people to be at pains with the lapsers, to persuade them to forbear to press their reconciliation any farther till such time as *Bishops* may safely meet in council, and determine in an affair so momentous.[1] And Epistle 19, (having given a form to his Presbyters and Deacons concerning such lapsers as were in danger of death, of which form we have already[2] had enough,) he tells them, that as for other lapsers, they must wait till Bishops may meet in council and determine about them.[3] And Epistle 26, having told his Presbyters and Deacons that he had received a very threatening address (to be seen in Ep. 23) from the confessors, he gives them to understand, that to grant such dispensations as the address required, was a matter which "called for the opinions and judgments of all Bishops," and therefore "he

[1] Audiant quæso patienter consilium nostrum, expectent regressionem nostram ut cum—venerimus convocati *coepiscopi* plures, secundum Domini disciplinam et confessorum præsentiam, beatorum Martyrum literas —examinare possimus. Ep. 17, p. 40.

[2] Supra, cap. 5, sect. 20, &c.

[3] Ceteri vero qui nullo libello à Martyribus accepto invidiam faciunt, quoniam non paucorum, nec Ecclesiæ unius, aut unius provinciæ, sed totius orbis hæc causa est: expectent de Domini protectione Ecclesiæ ipsius pacem publicam. Hoc enim et verecundiæ et disciplinæ et vitæ ipsi omnium nostrum convenit: ut *Præpositi* cum Clero convenientes, præsente et stantium plebe——disponere omnia consilii communis religione possimus. Ep. 19, p. 41.

durst not by himself determine any thing about it." Of all Bishops, I say, for that the [omnium nostrum] refers to his *Colleagues* mentioned before, is clear as light to any that considers the passage.[1] And, Epistle 32, he again tells his clergy that such and such things relating to the lapsers must be delayed "till Bishops may have God's allowance to meet and treat of them in council."[2] And, Epistle 34, he requires his Presbyters and Deacons to communicate that Epistle to his *Colleagues*, that "one course may be kept, and they may be in the greater readiness to treat more fully of all things, when they shall meet together."[3] And, Epistle 41, "We shall cognosce of all these things (says he) when, God permitting, we shall meet with many of our *Colleagues*."[4] And, Ep. 43, he makes it an aggravation of the guilt of Felicissimus and his party, that they had dared to reconcile the lapsers after that not only he, but the Roman confessors and clergy, and all Bishops on both sides of the sea, had resolved that "no such thing should be done till Bishops might meet in council, and agree on such a course as might answer both ends of discipline and of mercy." And this presumption of that party he calls rebellion, and a subverting of the foundations of the authority and power Episcopal.[5] And, Ep. 20, he tells the Roman clergy that his answer to those of his own Presbyters and Deacons, &c. who had so earnestly pressed him for a relaxation of the

[1] Legi autem et universorum Confessorum literas, quas voluerunt per me *Collegis* omnibus innotescere——Quæ res cum *omnium nostrum* consilium et sententiam expectet, præjudicare ego, et solus mihi rem communem vindicare non audeo. Ep. 26, p. 51.

[2] De ceteris vero quæ agenda erunt, sicut et *Collegis* meis plurimis scripsi, plenius consilio communi tractabimus, quando convenire in unum permittente Domino cœperimus. Ep. 32, p. 65.

[3] Legite vero has easdem literas et *Collegis* meis, si qui aut præsentes fuerint, aut supervenerint, ut unanimes et concordes, ad fovenda et sananda lapsorum vulnera consilium salubre teneamus, tractaturi plenissime de omnibus, cum convenire—cœperimus. Ep. 34, p. 68.

[4] Quæ omnia tunc cognoscemus, quando in unum *Collegis* pluribus, permittente Deo, convenerimus. Ep. 41, p. 80.

[5] Cumque semel placuerit tam nobis quam Confessoribus et Clericis urbicis, item universis *Episcopis* vel in nostra provincia vel trans mare constitutis, ut nihil innovetur circa lapsorum causam, nisi omnes in unum convenerimus, et collatis consiliis cum disciplina pariter et misericordia temperatam sententiam fixerimus; contra hoc consilium nostrum *rebelletur*, et omnis *sacerdotalis auctoritas et potestas* factiosis conspirationibus destruatur. Ep. 43, p. 82, 83.

severity of discipline was, that " that matter concerning the lapsers must be delayed till God should send peace, and many Bishops might meet together."[1] And, Ep. 55, he repeats the same account to Antonianus.[2] And agreeably,

XVIII.—When it pleased God to rebuke the persecution, and restore peace to the Church, the African Bishops met in the Council so often referred to. The Bishops, I say, as only having the power of defining, are only mentioned by St Cyprian as the persons who met, as we may observe in the account he gives of that Council to Antonianus. " So soon as the persecution calmed (says he), and we could safely meet, a copious number of *us Bishops*, whom our faith and the Divine protection had preserved from lapsing, did meet, as before had been intended, and having seriously considered the Scriptures, we decreed," &c.——and "lest the number of *Bishops* in Africa might have been reckoned insufficient for determining in so weighty a case, we wrote to our *Colleague* Cornelius at Rome, who with very many *Bishops* joined with him in Council, did with equal seriousness and moderation agree with us in the same determination."[3] Thus we have a fair account of the Bishops, their being the only definers in their Provincial Councils, in the case of the lapsers.

XIX.—The matter is every whit as plain, or rather

[1] Plane ceterorum causas, quamvis libello à Martyribus accepto, differri mandavi; et in nostram præsentiam reservari; ut cum pace à Domino nobis data, plures *Præpositi* convenire in unum cœperimus, communicato etiam vobiscum consilio disponere singula et reformare possimus——Ep. 20, p. 43, 44.

[2] De eo tamen quod statuendum esset circa lapsorum causam distuli ; ut cum quies—data esset, et *Episcopis* in unum convenire indulgentia divina permitteret: tunc communicato et librato de omnium collatione consilio, *statueremus* quid fieri oporteret. Ep. 55, p. 102.

[3] Secundum quod tamen antea fuerat destinatum, persecutione sopita, cum data esset facultas in unum conveniendi, copiosus *Episcoporum* numerus, quos integros et incolumes fides sua et Domini tutela protexit, in unum convenimus, et scripturis diu ex utraque parte prolatis, temperamentum salubri moderatione libravimus, ut nec in totum spes communicationis et pacis lapsis denegaretur—nec tamen rursus censura Evangelica solveretur, —Ac si minus sufficiens *Episcoporum* in Africa numerus videbatur, etiam Romam super hac re scripsimus ad Cornelium *Collegam* nostrum, quid et ipse cum plurimis *coepiscopis* habito concilio, in eandem nobiscum sententiam pari gravitate et salubri moderatione consensit. Ep. 55, p. 102, 103.

plainer, concerning the Synods which defined in the case of heretical and schismatical baptisms. We have accounts of no fewer than six of them, all consisting of Bishops. There was one before St Cyprian's time when Agrippinus was Bishop of Carthage, which determined in this matter; and St Cyprian expressly tells us, that "Agrippinus of famous memory, with the rest of his *fellow Bishops* who at that time governed the Church of our Lord in Africa and Numidia, declared all baptisms performed by heretics to be invalid."[1] This is in his 71st Epistle to Quintus, and he has the same over again in his 73d to Jubaianus.[2] And Novatus à Thamugade, one of the Bishops which voted in the venerable Council of Carthage, anno 256, plainly refers to the decision of that Council holden by Agrippinus, as consisting entirely of Bishops.[3] Another Council which determined in this matter was holden at Iconium, in which Firmilian was present; and another at Synnada, and both consisted of Bishops, as we learn from Dionysius, the great Bishop of Alexandria, one of Cyprian's contemporaries;[4]

[1] Quod quidem et Agrippinus, bonæ memoriæ vir, cum cæteris *co-episcopis* suis, qui illo tempore in provincia Africa et Numidia Ecclesiam Domini *gubernabant*, statuit, et librato consilii communis examine firmavit. Quorum sententiam et religiosam et legitimam, et salutarem, fidei et Ecclesiæ Catholicæ congruentem, nos etiam secuti sumus. Ep. 71, p. 196.

[2] "Apud nos autem non nova, aut repentina res est, ut baptizandos censeamus eos qui ab hæreticis ad Ecclesiam veniunt, quando multi jam anni sint, et longa ætas ex quo sub Agrippino bonæ memoriæ viro convenientes in unum *Episcopi* plurimi hoc *statuerint*:" hæreticos nempe ad Ecclesiam redeuntes esse baptizandos. Ep. 73, p. 199.

[3] Et ideo, secundum testimonium Scripturarum, et secundum decretum *Collegarum* nostrorum sanctissimæ memoriæ virorum, omnes schismaticos et hæreticos qui ad Ecclesiam conversi sunt, baptizari——Con. Carth. Suff. 4.

[4] Μεμάθηκα καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι μὴ νῦν οἱ ἐν Αφρικῇ μόνον τουτο παρεισήγαγον αλλὰ καὶ πρὸ πολλοῦ κατα τὸυς πρὸ ἡμῶν Επισκόπους, εν τᾶις πολυανθρωποτάταις εκκλησίαις καὶ ταῖς συνόδοις τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἐν Ικωνίῳ καὶ Συνάδοις καὶ παρα πολλοῖς τοῦτο ἔδοξεν—Euseb. H.E. Lib. 7, cap. 7—De hac Synodo Iconiensi, vide etiam Firmiliani Epistolam, inter Cyprianicas septuagesimam quintam, p. 221, ubi hæc legere est.—"Quod totum (viz. penes hæreticos nullum esse baptismum), nos jampridem in Iconio, qui Phrygiæ locus est, collecti in unum, convenientibus ex Galatia, et Cilicia, et cæteris proximis regionibus, confirmavimus tenendum contra hæreticos"—et rursus, p. 226, "plurimi simul convenientes in Iconio diligentissimè tractavimus; et confirmavimus repudiandum esse omne omnino baptisma, quod sit extra Ecclesiam constitutum." Nunquid omnes ex Galatia, et Cilicia, et cæteris

not one word of Presbyters in either of them, which in reason can import no less than that however they were present, yet they had no definite voices. In two years time, or thereabout, when Stephen made the controversy pretty warm, we find three African councils, and in them *Bishops alone* giving their decisions. We have a Synodical Epistle of one of them; it is the 70th in number among St Cyprian's; thirty-two Bishops were present, and in their Epistle they speak of themselves as the sole definers.[1] A second we have an account of, Ep. 73, in which were present seventy-one Bishops, who likewise were the only persons who had definitive voices.[2]

XX.—But the last of these three African councils which were holden in St Cyprian's time for determining the question concerning heretical and schismatical baptisms, is of all the most considerable to our present purpose. It is that Council which consisted of eighty-seven Bishops — that Council whose records are still extant among St Cyprian's works—that Council the suffrages whereof St Austin examines in his books about baptism against the Donatists. This is that venerable Council convocated anno 256, whereof St Cyprian was Præses. It was to the suffrages of this Council I did so frequently refer in the "Principles of the Cyprianic Age," especially p. 25, 26. And here, by the way, let me take notice of a learned resentment G[ilbert] R[ule] has of my referring so frequently to it. "Though we have an account of seven several Councils of Carthage (says he) in the ancient records, yet this author always citeth Concil. Carthag. without any discrimination. If he miscite places, how shall this error be discovered? for I

proximis regionibus Presbyteri tunc temporis in Iconio convenerunt? At pauci forte à cæteris delegati convenire potuerunt, canones compingere, lites dirimere, controversias finire, &c. Hoccine pro more illius seculi? procul omni dubio nullas nisi Episcoporum Synodos novit Firmilianus, agnovit illud seculum. Sed de his aliàs plura.

[1] Cum simul in concilio essemus, legimus literas vestras. Ep. 70, p. 189.

[2] Et quoniam super hac re quid sentiremus, literis nostris expressimus: ut compendium facerem, exemplum earundem literarum tibi misi, quod in concilio cum complures adessemus, decreverimus—(hæc de prima triginta duorum Episcoporum Synodo intelligenda: de secunda quæ sequuntur) et nunc quoque cum in unum convenissemus, tam provinciæ Africæ quam Numidiæ, *Episcopi* numero septuaginta et unus, hoc idem denuo sententia nostra firmavimus. Ep. 73, p. 198.

think few will be at the pains to read over all the acts of those Councils for every one of his citations."[1]—Was it possible that G[ilbert] R[ule] could be so inadvertent as not to consider that our controversy was about the principles of the Cyprianic age, and by consequence, only determinable by the monuments of that age, at least not by the monuments of posterior ages. And have we the monuments or the records of seven Carthaginian Councils holden in St Cyprian's time, or before it? But as I said, this only by the way. To proceed—this is the Council the suffrages whereof I insisted so much on in the preceding Chapter,[2] while I was asserting the Bishop's sovereign interest in baptism. And it was to this place that I did there[3] refer the reader for satisfaction that I had reason to make such use of the suffrages of it as I had done, and concerning the full force of a demonstration which I there left unfinished.[4] And now I come to perform my promise, as well as to clear the point presently in hand, or if you will, to perform the one by clearing the other. And all may be very briefly done. For,

XXI.—It is not more evident that the sun shines at midday, than it is in the records of this venerable Council that *Bishops alone* had definitive voices in it. For though many Presbyters were present, yet they were all Bishops, not one of them simple Presbyters, whose definitive suffrages are recorded. This alone might be enough, for how is it imaginable that the definitive suffrages of Presbyters would not have been recorded as well as those of Bishops, if they had had an equal power of giving them? But this is not all. For, 2. St Cyprian, Præses of the Council, in his admirable discourse at the opening of it, most plainly and emphatically excludes all who were not Bishops from having decisive voices. All, I say, Presbyters as well as Deacons, and the *plebs*, the laity, which was also present. For it is only to his *Colleagues*, to the Bishops, he directs his discourse, and he directs it to them as being the only persons who could decide, define, or determine in the matter laid before them. The discourse is so remarkable, that perhaps it may not be amiss to translate it entirely and transcribe

[1] Cyp. B. Exd. sect. 27, p. 34, 35.
[2] Sect. 67, 68, 69. [3] Sect. 70. [4] Sect. 71.

it. It runs thus, or to this purpose—" Many Bishops from the Provincial Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania, having met together in Carthage on the first of September, many Presbyters and Deacons being with them, a great number of the laity being also present, the Epistle of Jubaianus (concerning the baptisms of heretics and schismatics) to Cyprian being read, and Cyprian's return to him being likewise read, and also his rejoinder, Cyprian (the Præses of the Council) said, you have heard, right well beloved *Colleagues*, what Jubaianus, our *fellow Bishop*, hath written to me, requiring my sentiments concerning the unlawful and profane baptism of heretics. You have heard the return I gave him, containing that which more than once we have determined; namely, that it is necessary that such heretics as come to the Church should be baptized and sanctified with the baptism of the Church. And you have heard what, according to his sincere and religious devotion, he hath written again, and how he hath not only consented but thankfully confessed himself to have been instructed. It remains now that each of us declare our opinion, judging no man, refusing our communion to no man, though he shall think differently from us. For none of us constitutes himself *Bishop* of *Bishops*, or by a tyrannical terror forces his *Colleagues* into a necessity of compliance, seeing every *Bishop*, by virtue of his absolute liberty and power, has his own free judgment, and can no more be judged by another than he himself can judge another. But we do all expect the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who only and solely has power to promote us in the government of his Church, and to judge of our administration." This, I say, is the purport of the discourse. I shall not pretend to be an exact translator, (though I am confident I have done neither violence nor any other kind of injustice to it) let, therefore, the stress lie on the original words, as you have them faithfully transcribed in the margin.[1]

[1] Cum in unum Carthagini convenissent Kalendis Septembris *Episcopi* plurimi ex provincia Africa, Numidia, et Mauritania, cum Presbyteris et Diaconibus, præsente etiam plebis maxima parte, et lectæ essent literæ Jubaiani ad Cyprianum factæ, item Cypriani ad Jubaianum rescriptæ, de hæreticis baptizandis; quidque postmodum Cypriano Jubaianus idem rescripserit; Cyprianus dixit: Audistis *Collegæ* dilectissimi, quid mihi Jubaianus *coepiscopus noster* scripserit, consulens mediocritatem nostram de

XXII.—If G[ilbert] R[ule] shall not be convinced that Bishops alone in St Cyprian's time had power to define in provincial councils, and that Presbyters as well as Deacons, nay, the laity, were excluded from having the privilege of definitive voices in such Councils; if the bright evidences for these things contained in this discourse, I say, shall not for ever close G[ilbert] R[ule]'s mouth in this matter, I think it is but lost labour to be at any further pains to convince him. And yet I have more to say. For 3, I have to back what I have said no fewer than half a score of the suffrages registered in the records of the Council. Particularly, Novatus à Thamugade most evidently insinuates that all the definers were Bishops, when he says, "That he is for having all heretics baptized according to the testimony of the Scriptures and the decree of our *Colleagues* (says he) of most holy memory;"[1] that is Agrippinus and those Bishops who with him had long ago determined the case of heretical baptisms. "Seeing Cyprian's Epistle to Jubaianus, and to Stephanus have been read in this great convocation of most holy *priests*,"[2] that is Bishops, says Crescens à Cirta. "Our Lord (says Fortunatus à Thucabori) gave the power of baptizing to Bishops," &c.[3] and therefore he as a Bishop votes for baptizing heretics. "We assist the Church in which we preside," *i. e.* in which we are Bishops, says Januarius à Vico Cæsaris.[4]

illicito et profano hæreticorum baptismo; et quid ego ei rescripserim; censens scilicet, quod semel atque iterum et sæpe censuimus, hereticos ad Ecclesiam venientes, Ecclesiæ baptismo baptizari et sanctificari oportere. Item lectæ sunt vobis et aliæ Jubaiani literæ, quibus pro sua sincera et religiosa devotione, ad epistolam nostram rescribens, non tantum consensit, sed etiam instructum se esse gratias egit. Superest ut de hac ipsa re singuli quid sentiamus, proferamus; nominem judicantes, aut à jure communionis aliquem, si diversum senserit, amoventes. Neque enim quisquam nostrum *Episcopum* se *Episcoporum* constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem *Collegas* suos adigit; quando habeat omnis *Episcopus* pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ, arbitrium proprium; tamque judicari ab alio non possit, quam nec ipse potest judicare. Sed expectemus universi judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus et solus habet potestatem et præponendi nos in Ecclesiæ suæ *gubernatione*, et de *actu* nostro judicandi. Tom. i. p. 229, 230.

[1] Secundum testimonium Scripturarum, et secundum decretum *Collegarum nostrorum*—Suff. 4.

[2] In tanto cœtu sanctissimorum *sacerdotum*—Suff. 8.

[3] Vide supra, cap. 6, sect. 61.

[4] Nos Ecclesiæ assistimus in qua *præsidemus*—Suff. 23.

" All men acknowledge (says Felix ab Uthina) most holy *fellow priests*, that human presumption is not of equal force with the adorable majesty of our Lord Jesus Christ," &c.[1] He calls those to whom he directs his discourse, *i. e.* those who had power to define, fellow priests, [*consacerdotes*] a compellation never bestowed in the dialect of those times by any Bishop on any but Bishops. " Some of our *Colleagues* (says Geminius à Furnis) may prefer heretics to themselves, but not to us."[2] Who, I pray, were his *Colleagues*, and by consequence, whom did he mean by [*us*] but Bishops? Pudentianus à Cuiculi tells the venerable assembly, " That the reason why he so long delayed to give his opinion was, that he might first hear the judgment of others, because he himself had been but lately made a *Bishop*."[3] " You yourselves know (says Victor ab Octavo) that I am not long since made a Bishop, and therefore I watched to hear the opinion of those who had been Bishops before me."[4] We have more than once already had occasion to consider the suffrage of Confessor Clarus à Mascula, in which he manifestly makes Bishops the successors of the Apostles, and thereby endowed with the sovereign power of baptism, and by consequence only capable of defining in a controversy about baptism.[5] And Natalis ab Oea, for himself, and in name of Pompeius Sabratensis and Dioga Leptimagnensis, (who had given a commission to declare their judgments, because they could not be present,) tells the assembly that both the two from whom he had commission and himself were of the same judgment with their *Colleagues*, *i. e.* the Bishops, who before had given their definitive sentences."[6] And then St Cyprian, as moderator of the assembly, con-

[1] Nemini dubium est, sanctissimi *consacerdotes*, non in tantum posse humanam præsumtionem, quantum Domini nostri Jesu Christi adorandam et venerabilem majestatem—Suff. 26.

[2] Quidam de *collegis* hæreticos præponere sibi possunt—Suff. 59.

[3] Novitas *Episcopatus mei* effecit, ut sustinerem quid majores judicarent —Suff. 71.

[4] Quod et ipsi scitis, non olim sum *Episcopus* constitutus, et ideo expectabam præcessorum consilium—Suff. 78.

[5] Supra, sæpius.

[6] Tum ego præsens, quam Pompeius Sabratensis, quam etiam Dioga Leptimagnensis, qui mihi mandaverunt corpore quidem absentes, spiritu præsentes, censemus quod et *Collegæ* nostri—Suff. 83, 84, 85.

cludes all with telling that his "Epistle to Jubaianus, their *Colleague*, did most fully express his sentiment."[1]

XXIII.—Light itself is not clearer than it is from what I have said (when all laid together) that they were Bishops, and none but Bishops, who defined in that most ancient Council. They not only defined, using all the terms and phrases which could import authoritative defining,[2] but they were the sole definers, and Presbyters had no more interest in the power of definition than Deacons, nay, than laics, who were present as well as Presbyters. And all this was highly reasonable, for 4, as I have shown before by very many arguments, Bishops by the principles of those times had the sovereign power of baptism, and the case to be determined in this council was a case about baptism, who then besides the Bishops could have right to determine in it? Neither was there any prudential necessity of the opinions or voices of Presbyters here, as sometimes there might have been in the administration of a single diocese. For in this, and all other Provincial Councils, there wanted not enough of counsel nor enough of counsellors. There was no fear of any single man's determining anything rashly or unadvisedly, as determining it by his own single authority; no things were to be determined by common counsel and by common authority, by the common counsel of many who were men of great experience, and of long standing in the Church; of many whose merit and wisdom, and presumed sufficiency for such a station, had raised them to the power and dignity of supreme governors in their respective churches. And by consequence, many who were to be presumed to be best qualified for giving proper, and sound, and seasonable counsel. And the same reason that made it equitable that in this Provincial Council Bishops alone should have the power of definitive voices, viz. their having the sovereign power of baptism, when thoroughly considered, will likewise make it

[1] Meam sententiam plenissime exprimit Epistola quæ ad Jubaianum *Collegam nostrum* (omnium qui præsentes sumus et suffragia prompsimus Episcoporum) scripta est—Suff. 87.

[2] Formulæ quibus utuntur fere hæ sunt—*censeo* (vox definientibus usitatissima)—Suff. 2, 8, 11, 16, 22, 31, 32, 33, 37, 41, 43, 72, 74, 83, 86. *Decerno:* Suff. 6, 38, 59. *Mea sententia est:* Suff. 9, 87. *Secundum motum animi mei dico:* Suff. 73. *Existimo:* Suff. 78.

equitable or reasonable, that is, it will clear it of all absurdity, that they should have had the same peculiar interest, the same sole power of defining in all other cases defineable by Provincial Synods, in that all power of government ecclesiastical (as G[ilbert] R[ule] himself[1] has not had confidence to deny,) is originally founded on the power of the sacraments. And whoso has the supreme power of the one sacrament, must by necessary consequence have it likewise of the other. And so I come to consider what may be objected against what I have asserted, and I think demonstratively proved, and it is this for substance.

XXIV.—That Presbyters were always present in Provincial Synods. That the Roman Clergy, Ep. 30, and the Roman Confessors, Ep. 31, do very clearly insinuate, that by the customs of those times, Presbyters were consulted in those Synods, and that St Cyprian readily allowed of such a custom. That St Cyprian very frequently in his Epistles to his Clergy tells them such and such things shall be ordered, expeded, and determined with their consent, when he shall return to Carthage; that Eusebius tells us there were present in the Roman Council convocated by Cornelius, besides Bishops, many Presbyters and Deacons.[2] And St Cyprian tells Quintus that the Bishops which met in the first of the three councils convocated for deciding the controversy about heretical, together with their fellow Presbyters, determined so and so.[3] And the records of the famous Council, (as I have just now confessed and accounted) which was the third on that occasion, do expressly bear that Presbyters were present. Nay, doth not St Cyprian in his account of the condemnation of Felicissimus and his party, by an African Synod, plainly tell Cornelius that Presbyters and Deacons [affuerunt judicio et cognitioni] were present, and consented to the sentence?[4] And what can be plainer than that which he writes to his Presbyters and Deacons, Ep. 14? Doth he not tell them that he could determine nothing by himself in the case which some of his Presbyters had proposed to him? And that, when he should return from his secession, and they might meet together, they

[1] Cyprianic Bishop Examined, sect. 51, p. 75. [2] H. E. l. 6, c. 43.
[3] Ep. 71, p. 193. [4] Cyprianic Bishop Examined, sect. 36, p. 48, 49.

should, in common, consider and treat of matters [sicut mutuus honor poscit], "as their mutual honour required." And what was this *mutuus honor*, but that due regard that he had to their authority in the Church, and they ought to have to his? What less can it import than that it had been a dishonouring of them, and setting them lower than Christ had set them in the Church, if he had managed her affairs without them?[1] This is the force not only of all that hath been said by G[ilbert] R[ule], but all I can at present call to mind that can be objected against the Bishop's sole power of defining in Provincial Councils in the days of St Cyprian; but the consideration of a few things will easily evacuate it, particularly,

XXV.—1. How easy is it to distinguish between being present or being consulted, between being witnesses of what passed, nay, between being allowed to deliver their opinions, or represent their reasons, or propose overtures, or suggest expedients, &c.? How easy is it to distinguish between all these, or anything like them, and the privilege of a definitive suffrage? Who knows not that there is a notable, a material difference between a voice deliberative and a voice decisive? Can G[ilbert] R[ule,] or any man for him, shew so much as one instance of a Presbyter's having a definitive suffrage in any one of all those many Provincial Councils which the Cyprianic age afforded? Are not the records of one of the greatest of them (as we have seen,) plain, express, and peremptory to the contrary? Or is it to be supposed that the constitution of that most famous Council was singular, or new, or any way receding from the then current and customary constitution of Provincial Councils? What an advantage had those African fathers given thereby to Stephen and his party if it had been so? Had those been so inconsiderate as to have given these such an advantage, certainly these would not have been so much wanting to their cause, as not to have improved it as far as they could; certainly St Austin in his books concerning baptism against the Donatists, wherein he particularly examines and studies to answer the suffrages of this Council, would have readily objected against its authority that it had a substantial nullity in its constitution; this nul-

[1] Cyprianic Bishop Examined, sect. 41, p. 57.

lity, that Presbyters were not allowed to have their right of definitive voices in it, if they had then had such a right; and yet no such syllable in all those books, or in any books of those earlier ages. But what needs more? who can read the monuments of the Cyprianic age without observing that there was never any age nicer or stricter about forms, or had greater prejudices, or more cautious against innovations? What I have said, though there were no more, might be abundantly sufficient to shew the weakness of all that was objected. And yet there is much more to be said; for,

XXVI.—2. Nothing more observable than the difference always made between the interests of Bishops and Presbyters in those Councils, by the very style and phrase of the then current dialect; thus St Cyprian in the very first Epistle, not only expressly distinguishes between his Colleagues and Presbyters but likewise he makes Presbyters no more than assessors in the meetings of Bishops. "I and my *Colleagues* who were present," says he, "and the Presbyters who were assessors to us, were very much troubled," &c.[1] And the inscription of the 4th Epistle runs thus,—"Cyprianus, Cæcilius, Victor, Sedatius, Tertullius, with the Presbyters who were *present*."[2] An inscription (as already[3] has been observed) taken notice of by Salmasius, as emphatically importing a signal difference between the interests of Bishops and Presbyters. And no wonder, for who knows not that to have jurisdiction, to have power to define, is one thing, and to be only present or assistant, is another? Who knows not that the Roman presidents of provinces had their [assessores], their assistants, with whom they might advise, and whose counsel they might use as they thought expedient, who yet had no power to define or determine? nay, is not this very ordinary at this day in all the meetings of our royal burghs? Is there not one commissioner who from his burgh receives power to vote, and an assessor sent along with him, only for advice; and have we not had divers instances since the Reformation, of assistants sent with the

[1] Graviter commoti sumus ego et *Collegæ mei* qui præsentes aderant, et *compresbyteri* nostri qui nobis *assidebant*—Ep. 1, p. 1.

[2] Cyprianus, &c. cum Presbyteris qui præsentes *aderant*, &c.—Ep. 4.

[3] Supra, cap. 3, sect 29.

commissioners from Presbyteries to General Assemblies? This is certain, in the Cyprianic dialect, to assist can import no parity of power; (which must be amongst those who have equal interest and right to define in councils,) for more than once we have St Cyprian (or rather the Scripture itself, as cited by him,) calling angels God's assistants.[1] And we have him using this argument to encourage the faithful cheerfully to suffer for Christ, that they shall *assist* at his side when he sits to judge.[2] And by what hath been said, it is easy to come by the true meaning of that which St Cyprian says in his 71st Epistle to Quintus; for it imports no more than that Presbyters were present and consented to, or approved that which the Bishops determined.[3] And if it needed more light, it might have it plentifully

XXVII.—3. From that very passage cited and insisted on by G[ilbert] R[ule] from Ep. 59, (55 by Pamelius's reckoning), to prove the interest of Presbyters in Provincial Synods; for if you take it altogether, (as we ought to take testimonies, unless we resolve to mistake them,) nothing plainer than that Presbyters are entirely excluded by it from having had any definitive voice in the condemnation of Felicissimus, &c. The act of *judging* is three or four times in it most evidently appropriated to the Bishops; and they, as judges, are most notoriously distinguished from the Presbyters and Deacons, as being only present, as is obvious to any who considers the full account as you have it on the margin.[4] Indeed a plainer representation of the different

[1] Vide tom. 1, p. 14, 47, 153, 179.

[2] Quanto major est gloria—comitari eum cum venire cœperit, vindictam de inimicis recepturus? lateri ejus *assistere*, cum sederit judicaturus? De Exhort. Martyr. Ibid. p. 183.

[3] "De qua re quid nuper in Concilio plurimi *coepiscopi* cum com-presbyteris qui *aderant* censuerimus, ut scires: ejusdem Epistolæ exemplum tibi misi"—Ep. 71, p. 193. Epistolam vero procul dubio intelligit septuagesimam, triginta duorum Episcoporum, nullius vero Presbyteri nomine conscriptam.

[4] "Oportet utique eos quibus" (nos Episcopi) præsumus non circumcursare (ut à Felicissimo ejusque satellitio facti) "nec *Episcoporum* concordiam cohærentem sua subdola et fallaci temeritate collidere, sed agere illic causam suam, ubi et accusatores habere et testes sui criminis possint: *nisi* si paucis desperatis et perditis minor videtur esse auctoritas *Episcoporum* in Africa constitutorum, qui jam de illis *judicaverunt*, et eorum conscientiam multis delictorum laqueis vinctam *judicii sui* nuper gravitate damna-

privileges and interests of Bishops and Presbyters, as well as any other clergymen in Provincial Councils, is not to be wished.

XXVIII.—4. As for the Roman Council convocated by Cornelius, and mentioned by Eusebius,[1] nothing is plainer than that Bishops were the only definers in it, if we compare Eusebius's and St Cyprian's accounts of it. Eusebius says there was a great Council or Synod convocated at Rome, in which were present sixty Bishops, and a great many Presbyters and Deacons, and in other provinces there were Synods of Pastors, that is, Bishops, (for so the word Ποιμενων always signifies in the Eusebian dialect,) who determined in the matter, and it agreed in one common definition against the Novatians. So that he not only distinguishes between Bishops and Presbyters who were present at the Synod, for which it will be hard to find a reason if Presbyters acted in parity with Bishops in point of definition, but he classes the Presbyters with the Deacons, who it is certain could not claim the privilege of a definitive voice, and he mentions only Bishops as meeting in the other provinces, and defining in the controversy, without so much as a word of either Presbyter or Deacon; which, what less can it import than that he deemed it enough to mention those who had the power of decision? And St Cyprian mentioning that same Roman Synod, tells Antonianus that Cornelius kept a Council with many fellow Bishops, without

runt. Jam causa eorum *cognita* est;" (à nobis Episcopis in Africa constitutis) "jam de eis" (nostra Episcoporum) "dicta sententia est: nec *censuræ* congruit *sacerdotum*" (*i. e.* Episcoporum qui soli censoria gaudebant potestate) "mobilis atque inconstantis animi levitate reprehendi, cum Dominus doceat et dicat, SIT SERMO VESTER, EST EST, NON NON: si *eorum*" (Episcoporum) "qui de illis priore anno *judicaverunt*, numerus cum *Presbyteris et Diaconis* computetur" (videsne Presbyteros et Diaconos eodem jure in Synodis provincialibus gavisos, utrosque vero ab Episcopis judicibus accuratissime, et quasi de industria discretos?) "plures tunc *affuerunt* judicio et cognitioni," (affuerunt duntaxat Presbyteri, quemadmodum et Diaconi: non judicaverunt, non cognoverunt, non sententiam tulerunt, non damnarunt, &c.) "quam sunt iidem isti, qui cum Fortunato nunc videntur esse conjuncti"—Ep. 59, p. 136, 137.

[1] Ἐφ' ᾧ συνόδου μεγίστης επι Ῥώμης συγκροτεθείσης, ἑξηκοντα μεν τον ἀριθμὸν ἐπισκόπων, πλειόνων δε ἔτι μᾶλλον πρεσβυτέρων τε καὶ διακόνων, ἰδίως τε κατα τὰς λοιπὰς ἐπαρχίας τῶν κατα χώραν ποιμένων περὶ τοῦ πρακτέου διασκε[illegible]μένων, δόγμα παρίσταται τοῖς πᾶσι——Euseb. H.E. Lib. 6, c. 43.

so much as a syllable of either Presbyters or Deacons;[1] thinking it enough, no doubt, to mention those who had the power of defining.

XXIX.—5. The evidences of the power and interest of Presbyters in Provincial Synods, pretended to be contained in the epistles written by the Roman Clergy and Confessors to St Cyprian, bear their answer in their own bosoms. You have them on the margin,[2] and in them expressly contained that the interest of Presbyters in such Synods was no more not only than that of Deacons, but than that of Confessors and laics which had not lapsed. Will G[ilbert] R[ule] or any man of common sense who pretends to adhere to the Presbyterian principles, allow all Deacons, and all Confessors, and all unlapsing laics, to have had definitive voices in Provincial Councils in the days of St Cyprian? This, in short, is enough to convince any sober man that G[ilbert] R[ule] can gain nothing by his having cited these testimonies. But I know whom I have to deal with, and therefore, with the reader's allowance, let me put these two things beyond all future controversy. First, That so far as we can learn from the monuments of the Cyprianic age, the *stantes laici*, the unlapsing laics, had as great an interest in Provincial Councils as Presbyters. And, secondly, that yet those laics were very far from having the interest of a definitive suffrage.

XXX.—*First*, I say, for far as we can learn from the monuments of the Cyprianic age, unlapsing laics had as great an interest in Provincial Councils as Presbyters. St Cyprian indeed seems sometimes to talk more highly concerning the interest of the *plebs*, the laity, than he does at any time concerning that of Presbyters, *e. g.* Ep. 17, he writes thus to the [*fratres in plebe consistentes*], those of the

[1] Ac si minus sufficiens *Episcoporum* in Africa numerus videbatur, etiam Romam super hac re scripsimus ad Cornelium *Collegam* nostrum, qui et ipse cum *plurimis Co-episcopis* habito *concilio*, in eandem *nobiscum* (Episcopis Africanis), sententiam pari gravitate et salubri moderatione consensit. Ep. 55, p. 103.

[2] Quanquam nobis in tam ingenti negotio placeat, quod et tu ipse tractasti prius, Ecclesiæ pacem sustinendam, deinde, sic collatione consiliorum cum Episcopis, *Presbyteris*, *Diaconibus*, *Confessoribus*, pariter ac *stantibus laicis* facta, lapsorum tractare rationem—Ep. 30, p. 59. Vide paria, Ep. 31, p. 63, et Ep. 20, p. 43, et Ep. 55, p. 102.

laity who had not lapsed, that so soon as the Lord should restore peace to the Church, and he might safely return from his retirement, they should not only be present, but also be *judges*, when the case of the lapsers, and the petitions of the martyrs, should come to be examined.[1] And Epistle 43, written to all his people [*plebi universæ*], he not only tells them that the five Presbyters, &c. who sided with Felicissimus, and separated from the Church, had long before deserved to be excommunicated according to their suffrages,[2] but also, that when it shall please God so to order matters as that he and his Colleagues can meet together, all matters shall be determined according to their *arbitriment*.[3] And, Ep. 44, he tells Cornelius how Novatianus's missionaries had come to Carthage, and most earnestly demanded that the crimes they had to charge the same Cornelius with, and they affirmed they could prove, might be *cognosced* of by him and his [*plebs*] his people, without so much as naming any of the clergy, presbyters, or others.[4] Nay, Epistle 34, written to his Presbyters and Deacons, when he comes to tell them how Philumenus, and Fortunatus, and Favorinus should be judged, quite omitting them in an Epistle, as I said, written to themselves, he says that the "matter shall be treated of and considered with his Colleagues and with all the people."[5] Let G[ilbert] R[ule]

[1] Fecerunt ad nos de quibusdam beati Martyres literas, petentes examinari desideria sua ; cum pace nobis omnibus à Domino prius data, ad Ecclesiam regredi cœperimus, examinabuntur singula præsentibus et *judicantibus vobis*. Ep. 17, p. 39.

[2] Soli cum Episcopis non sint, qui contra Episcopos rebellarunt, conjurationis suæ pœnas soli subeant, qui olim secundum *vestra suffragia*—conjurationis et malignitatis suæ sententiam subire meruerunt. Ep. 43, p. 84.

[3] Persecutionis istius novissima hæc est, et extrema tentatio, quæ et ipsa cito Domino protegente transibit, ut repræsenter vobis post Paschæ diem cum *collegis meis ;* quibus præsentibus secundum *arbitrium* quoque *vestrum*, et omnium nostrum commune consilium, sicut semel placuit, ea quæ agenda sunt, disponere pariter et limare poterimus. Ep. 43, p. 85.

[4] Qui (à Novatiano nempe missi) cum in statione invidiosis quoque convitiis et clamoribus turbulentis proruerent ; et flagitarent, ut crimina quæ se afferre ac probare dicebant, publice à *nobis* et à *plebe cognoscerentur*. Ep. 44, p. 85.

[5] Desiderastis quoque ut de Philumeno, et Fortunato Hypodiaconis, et Favorino Acolutho, qui medio tempore recesserunt, et nunc venerunt, quod mihi videatur rescribam. Cui rei non potui me solum judicem dare, cum multi adhuc de Clero absentes sint, nec locum suum vel sero repe-

search over the whole monuments of the Cyprianic age if he will, and let him shew me such five testimonies concerning the interest of Presbyters, if he can. Neither is this all, for

XXXI.—Even that celebrated passage, Ep. 14, insisted on by G[ilbert] R[ule],[1] (and commonly by all those of his party), for asserting the interest of Presbyters in the management of ecclesiastical government, seems obviously to make as much, if not more, for the interest of the *plebs*, the laity. I have already considered it in part, and shewn to a demonstration that it contains no more but a voluntary and obliging condescension of our martyr's, to whomsoever it was made.[2] That which I now say is, that the *people* are as much, if not more regarded in it than Presbyters. For making this appear, let us consider it over again, and more fully than we did before. You have our martyr's words on the margin,[3] and it is to this purpose: "As to that which my fellow-Presbyters, Donatus and Fortunatus, &c. wrote to me, I could not by myself return an answer; seeing when first I entered to my Bishopric I determined to do nothing of mine own private opinion, nor without your advice and the consent of my people; but when by God's grace I shall return, then we shall in common consider what has been, or what is to be done, [sicut (not sic as G[ilbert] [Rule] has it, to the perverting of the sense), mutuus honor poscit], as mutual honour requires." In which words (I say it over again), the *people* seem to be as much, if not more, regarded than the Presbyters. My reasons are these: 1. It is no more but the *advice* of the Presbyters that is here reckoned upon; but it is the *consent* of the people. Now, who knows not that consent imports a greater interest than advice? I may ask one's advice, and hear what he has to say, and yet not listen to it, but follow mine own inclinations; counsel,

tendum putaverunt, et hæc singulorum tractanda sit, et limanda plenius ratio, non tantum cum *Collegis meis*, sed et cum *plebe ipsa universa*. Ep. 34, p. 68.

[1] Sect. 41, p. 57.

[2] Supra, sect. 7.

[3] Ad id vero, quod scripserunt mihi compresbyteri nostri Donatus et Fortunatus, Novatus et Gordius, solus rescribere nihil potui, quando à primordio Episcopatus mei statuerim, nihil sine *consilio vestro* et sine *consensu plebis* mea privatim sententia gerere. Sed cum ad vos per Dei gratiam venero, tunc de iis, quæ vel gesta sunt vel gerenda, *sicut mutuus honor poscit*, et commune tractabimus—Ep. 14, p. 33.

as we say, is no command; but when I say I shall do nothing without one's consent, it is plain that I bind up my hands from doing anything in the matter without that one's consent be granted. 2. St Cyprian, in another Epistle, seems fairly to restrict the [mutuus honor] to the people, at least he speaks of it (and it is to his Presbyters and Deacons too,) as due to them, when he neither says nor insinuates any such thing to be due to his clergy. "It is agreeable to the modesty, the discipline, and the conversation of all of us," says he, "that we the Bishops, with our clergy, should meet the *plebs stantium*, the multitude of the laity which has not lapsed, to whom, for their faith and religion, such *honour ought to be paid*, being all present, and that so we should order all things with common advice."[1] Here, I say, to be present in Provincial Synods, where things are to be ordered by common advice, is mentioned as an honour due to the people, and no such thing is said concerning even Presbyters. Neither can it be rationally supposed that it was carelessly or inadvertently said, considering how exactly it agrees with what has been discoursed in the preceding section.

XXXII.—Thus, as I have said, if we take things strictly and literally, and without all allowances of latitude, the people seem to have been more regarded than Presbyters themselves in the constitution of Provincial Councils; but it is enough for my purpose if they were as much. And here again I might adduce many more testimonies to prove, at least, their equal interest; for example, are we not told, Ep. 4, that it was as much the concern of the people as the Præpositi, the rulers, to maintain the vigour of discipline?[2] and Ep. 8, that it was as much incumbent on them, as on Presbyters, to watch over the flock?[3] Nay, doth not our

[1] Hoc enim et verecundiæ et disciplinæ et vitæ ipsi omnium nostrum convenit: ut Præpositi cum Clero convenientes, præsente etiam stantium plebe, quibus et ipsis pro fide et timore suo *honor habendus* est, disponere omnia consilii communis religione possimus—Ep. 19, p. 41, 42.

[2] Primo igitur in loco, *frater carissime, et Præpositis, et plebi* nihil aliud elaborandum est, quam ut qui Deum timemus, cum omni observatione disciplinæ divina præcepta teneamus nec patiamur errare fratres nostros et pro arbitrio et ructu suo vivere—Ep. 4, p. 7.

[3] "Salutant vos fratres qui sunt in vinculis, et *Presbyteri et tota Ecclesia*, quæ et *ipsa* cum summa sollicitudine *excubat* pro omnibus, qui invocant nomen Domini"—Ep. 8, p. 18, Presbyteri et Diaconi Romanorum ad Presbyteros et Diaconos Carthaginienses est hæc Epistola.

Martyr recommend it to them to rule and temper the immorigerous and exorbitant, who had not been sufficiently instructed and restrained by his Presbyters?[1] Twenty more such passages might be adduced to this purpose;[2] but this time we have had enough in confirmation of the first thing proposed, viz. that the *stantes laici* had as great an interest in Provincial Councils as Presbyters themselves. And yet,

XXXIII.—Secondly, the people had no definitive suffrages in Provincial Councils. I know our Presbyterian brethren are so far from being obliged by the true and genuine principles of Presbytery to say they had, that they cannot say it without going counter to those principles. But it is nothing extraordinary to observe people on many occasions forgetful of principles; and the principles of some other sects (of all those who lodge all Church power originally in the people), do lead them to assert such a popular right; and some do hotly contend for it, and therefore it shall not be much amiss briefly to discourse this matter, so far as the principles of the Cyprianic age can afford us any light. And,

XXXIV.—1. To me it seems a shrewd presumption against the people's right to a definitive voice in Provincial Councils in the days of St Cyprian, if in those days they had not the right of an elective voice in the promotion of their Bishops. It must be so obvious to any man of common sense that the *plebs*, the common people, were every way as unfitted and unqualified, if not more, for the one as for the other, that it needs not be insisted on; all, therefore, necessary to be insisted on is this question, whether Bishops in St Cyprian's time were formally elected by the people? Now, considering the frequent accounts we have of the promotions of Bishops in those times, and sometimes of hot contentions about them enough, it must be very strange if the

[1] Vos quidem (fratres in plebe consistentes alloquitur) nostri Presbyteri et Diaconi monere debuerant, ut commendatas sibi oves foverent, et divino magisterio ad viam deprecandæ salutis instruerent. Ego plebis nostræ et quietem novi pariter et timorem, qui in satisfactione Dei et deprecatione vigilarent, nisi illos quidam de Presbyteris gratificantes decepissent. Vel vos itaque singulos *regite*, et consilio ac moderatione vestra et secundum divina præcepta Lapsorum animos *temperate*—Ep. 17, p. 39.

[2] Vide Ep. 59, p. 139.

the people had a power or right to choose them, and yet no evidences, nay, nor intimations of such a power at all discoverable. It may pass, therefore, for argument sufficient against the people's right to elect their Bishops, if it can be reasonably maintained that there is no sufficient evidence that they had such a right, much more, if it can be made appear that there is good and solid argument against their having had it; and I think I have reason to affirm both. 1. Then, I say, no sufficient evidence of the people's right to elect their Bishops can be discovered in the monuments of the Cyprianic age. I have observed only two shadows of argument for it, and they are but shadows, if they are so much. One is, that St Cyprian says of both himself and Cornelius, "that they were promoted to their Bishoprics by the suffrage of the people." The other, that in a Synodical Epistle (the 67th among St Cyprian's), it is said "that the people have a power of choosing worthy, and refusing unworthy Bishops." But there is no such force in either as may be sufficient to infer the conclusion.

XXXV.—Not in the first. All the force of it lies in the word [suffragium], which is indeed no force at all; for I do not remember that this word stands so in any sentence in all the Cyprianic monuments as that it must necessarily signify an elective voice; but I have observed it divers times used where it cannot signify it, *e. g.* our martyr in his learned discourse of the "Vanity of Idols," insisting on the barbarities which had been committed even in Rome in the first formations of its greatness, particularly instances in Brutus, one of the first Consuls, "who kills his own sons," says he, [ut crescat de *suffragio* sceleris commendatio dignitatis][1] "That the commendation or credit of his dignity may be raised by the suffrage of a crime." This, I think, doth not look very like an elective vote. Again, in that same work, discoursing how unworthily the Jews treated our Redeemer, he says "they delivered him to Pontius Pilate, the Roman Governor, [crucem ejus et mortem *suffragiis* violentis et pertinacibus flagirantes],[2] most earnestly demanding his crucifixion and death by their violent and obstinate suffrages." The meaning is plainly no

[1] P. 13. [2] P. 16.

more, at most, than that they urged Pilate by furious and redoubled addresses or entreaties; for it is certain Pilate did never put it to a vote, never referred it to a polling, whether our Saviour should die or not. So likewise in his notable discourse concerning "Envy and Malice," having accounted how David slew Goliah, he says the people admired him for it, and he expresses it thus, [populus admirans in laudes David prædicationis *suffragio* prosiluit].[1] "The people, in a fit of admiration, bursted out into a suffrage of commendation," &c. And Ep. 38, representing how God by a special manifestation of his will had separated Aurelius to be a clergyman, he chooses to word it thus, [sed expectanda non sunt testimonia humana cum præcedunt divina *suffragia*],[2] that is plainly neither more nor less than that "there is no need of human testimonies where God interposes with a special designation." And Ep. 73, he introduces himself to his explication of Phil. i. 18, thus, [quod enim quidam dicunt quasi ad hæreticorum *suffragium* pertineat quod dixerit Apostolus].[3] The plain sense is, that St Paul's words can make nothing for the establishment or validity of baptism administered by heretics. No man, I think, will say that ever St Cyprian dreamed that there had been a formal convocation of the clergy, or the people, or both; and the matter had been voted, and St Paul's vote was, that heretical baptisms were valid. It were easy likewise to shew that in the Cyprianic dialect, the verb [suffragor] seldom or never signifies to vote; nor the noun [suffragator] a voter; but what I have adduced is sufficient to shew that the term [suffragium] need not—ought not to be taken for an electional vote, if I may so call it, unless the scope and tendency of the discourse where it is used necessarily require it to be so taken. Now,

XXXVI.—No such necessity in any of those places where the promotion of either Cornelius or St Cyprian is discoursed of; *e. g.* what we read in Ep. 55 concerning Cornelius, that "he was made Bishop of Rome by the designation of God and his Christ, by the testimony of almost all the clergy, by the *suffrage* of all the people who were then present, and by the

[1] P. 223. [2] Ep. 38, p. 74. [3] P. 204.

College of ancient Bishops and excellent men ;"[1] there is no imaginable necessity of taking the suffrage of the people to signify their electing him by their votes to be their Bishop. The testimony goes every whit as smoothly and naturally, and much more appositely, if we understand no more by it than their approbation or good liking. For if (as was ordinary in those days, and had been signally exemplified in the promotion of his predecessor Fabianus,) God, by some special manifestation of his will, had pointed out Cornelius to be Bishop of Rome, how could it have been referred to a vote of the people whether they would have him to be their Bishop or no? if it was so, had it not been as reasonable to say in the instance of Cornelius, as we have heard our martyr said in the instance of Aurelius, [expectanda non sunt testimonia humana cum præcedunt divina suffragia?] nay, suppose no more to be imported by the [judicium Dei] but God's approbation of Cornelius's promotion, colligible from the qualifications wherewith he was endowed, the regularity of his advancement, and the remarkable unanimity of those who were concerned to have him their Bishop ; suppose it to import no more, I say, but the countenance of the ordinary providence of God, yet still there is no necessity of giving the people a vote in his election. The interest of the clergy, all things considered, was without doubt as great as the interest of the people in the election of a Bishop, and yet you see all the clergy did was to give a good testimony of him. And can we imagine that the people could do more? but let St Cyprian himself determine the matter, who, Ep. 68, tells us that Cornelius was ordained Bishop of Rome by the appointment of God and the *suffrage* of the clergy and people,[2] which fairly gives us to understand that suffrage and testimony were two different words to signify the same thing, and no more is meant but that Cornelius had the testimony and approbation of both clergy and people. Neither clergy nor people objected anything against his

[1] Factus est autem Cornelius Episcopus de Dei et Christi ejus *judicio*, et de Clericorum pene omnium *testimonio*, de *plebis* quæ tunc affuit *suffragio*, et de sacerdotum antiquorum et bonorum virorum *collegio*—Ep. 55, p. 104.

[2] —Episcopo Cornelio in Catholica Ecclesia de *Dei judicio et cleri* ac *plebis suffragio* ordinato—Ep. 68, p. 177.

abilities or his life and conversation; both were very well pleased to have him their Bishop.

XXXVII.—The approbation and good liking of the people is also all that can be made of their suffrage in the promotion of St Cyprian. Thus, when he says, Ep. 59, "that if God's institutions were observed, none would make any stir against the College of Bishops, and no man, after the Divine appointment, and the suffrage of the people, and the consent of his fellow Bishops, would make himself judge, not of the Bishop, but of God;"[1] it is plain that he makes the *judicium Dei*, God's designation, the great cause of his promotion; and by consequence, that the suffrage of the people can necessarily import no more but their approbation and satisfaction. And when again, in that same Epistle, he says concerning himself, that "he was chosen in a peaceable time by the suffrage of all the people;"[2] who sees not that the meaning may fairly, and without any force, be, (not that he was chosen by their votes, but) that he was chosen by their approbation and applause, their joy and their good liking? To the same sense of acquiescence, or approbation, or good liking, is that passage in Ep. 43 interpretable, where, resenting the undutifulness of Felicissimus and the five Presbyters who sided with him, he says to his people that "those rebels were mindful of their conspiracy, and retained their old venom against his promotion to the Bishopric, and the suffrage of the people, and the determination of God."[3] Indeed, this of approbation or good liking is the most ordinary sense in which the word was then used. Thus when Cornelius, in his informatory Epistle to Cyprian concerning the return of Maximus, Urbanus, Sidonius, Macarius, &c. to the unity of the Church, says, he restored Maximus, being a Presbyter, to his former station, and

[1] Cui (Episcopo sive uni judici), si secundum magisteria divina obtemperaret fraternitas universa, nemo adversum *sacerdotum collegium* quidquam moveret; nemo post divinum *judicium*, post *populi suffragium*, post co-episcoporum *consensum*; judicem se jam non Episcopi, sed Dei faceret. Ep. 59, p. 129.

[2] Quando Episcopus in locum defuncti substituitur, quando populi universi *suffragio* in pace deligitur——Ep. 59, p. 130.

[3] ——Conjurationis suæ memores, et antiqua illa contra Episcopatum meum, imo contra *suffragium* vestrum et Dei *judicium* venena retinentes. Ep. 43, p. 82.

received the rest with a great suffrage of the people,[1] it is unquestionable that no more is meant than the people's joy and good liking. To interpret it so as if it had been put to a vote of the people whether they should or should not have been received, is not only plainly contrary to the grain of the Epistle, whereby we are told that the whole matter was concerted and digested before it was communicated to the people, and that the people were only convocated to be witnesses of the reception of those who returned from the schism, but also the very sound of the words of Cornelius refuses such a sense, it being impossible, without a mighty violence, to bend the [*ingens* populi suffragium] to the sense of a popular vote. And besides these arguments against it, St Cyprian, who doubtless did very well understand the customs of those times, has interpreted Cornelius's phrase entirely to the sense of joy and gladness for the return of those who had gone astray, it being a return to all good Christians, most refreshful and comfortable.[2]

XXXVIII.—To the same sense of cheerful acceptance and cordial approbation may be fairly interpreted all that Pontius has concerning the behaviour of the people at the promotion of our martyr to his bishopric. He says, "He was chosen by the Divine designation, and the favour, not the formal and stated vote of the people; that the people, by Divine inspiration, as it were, manifested a singular love to him, and honour for him; that they were mightily alarmed and agast upon the news of his absconding, as being unwilling to be their Bishop; that on that occasion great numbers of them besieged the doors of his house, and others went the round about all the avenues to prevent his escape; that they waited for his appearing with great solicitude, and received him when he came with an excess of joy."[3] But who sees not that all this might have been

[1] ——Maximum Presbyterum locum suum agnoscere jussimus: ceteros cum *ingenti populi suffragio* recepimus. Ep. 49, p. 93.

[2] Merito illos revertentes summo, ut scribis, (Cornelium alloquitur) *gaudio* (en quod sibi valebat populi suffragium), et clerus et plebs et fraternitas omnis excepit, quoniam in Confessoribus gloriam suam conservantibus, et ad unitatem revertentibus, nemo non socium se et participem eorum gloriæ computat. Ep. 51, p. 95.

[3] ——Judicio Dei et plebis favore ad officium sacerdotii, et Episcopatus gradum—electus est.—cum in dilectionem ejus et honorem totus populus

without their having had any right, any power, any privilege, any authority, to elect him by their formal and stated votes? There is here arguments enough indeed of their zeal and concern to have him for their Bishop. But zeal, or favour, or concern, is one thing, and power or right to choose, is another. And so much at present for shewing the weakness of the first argument I named, that might be pretended to be found in the monuments of the Cyprianic age for the people's right of choosing their Bishops.

XXXIX.—All things duly considered, the other is as destitute of force. The case in short was this—Basilides, a Spanish Bishop, in the days of persecution had fallen into the dreadful sin of idolatry, and falling sick, he had blasphemed God, as he himself had confessed. The conscience of these odious crimes had moved him to lay down his bishopric of his own accord, and stand among the penitents, and confess he should meet with great favour if ever he should be restored even to lay-communion; and there was already another, Sabinus, canonically chosen and ordained Bishop in his room, and actually in the possession of the chair, and the administration of the government. The persecution abated—it repented Basilides that he had abdicated; and being very earnest to be restored, he had studied all arts that might facilitate his reposition. Particularly, besides divers other Bishops to whom he had applied for being allowed their communion as a Bishop, he had gone to Rome, and so far imposed on Stephen, then Bishop of that city, as that he had got from him the right hand of fellowship, and engaged him to interpose for his restitution. This brought the people of the diocese into a great perplexity, and obliged them to write to Africa for advice how to behave in such a difficulty. Thirty-seven African Bishops meet in council, and form a synodical epistle, wherein, having adduced divers arguments and authorities to determine the people which had wrote to them to oppose the restitution of Basilides, who had so notoriously forfeited his

adspirante (al. inspirante) Domino prosiliret, humiliter ille secessit. Quo tunc ardore plebs æstuans fluctuabat—flagitabat—requirebat. Obsederat fores domus copiosa fraternitas, et per omnes aditus solicita caritas circuibat. Erat videre ceteros omnes suspensos anxio spiritu expectare venturum, cum gaudio nimio excipere venientem. Pontius in vita Cyp. p. 3.

title, and to adhere to Sabinus as their only rightful Bishop, they sum up all in this general conclusion—" That a people obedient to the precepts of our Lord, and fearing God, ought to separate themselves from a scandalous Bishop, and not pollute themselves with the sacrifices of a sacrilegious Priest, seeing, without question, they had it in their power to *choose* worthy Bishops, and refuse the unworthy."[1] This being the true state of the matter, as must be obvious to any that considers the Epistle, what can be plainer than that this passage has nothing to do with choosing Bishops by popular votes when a chair is vacant? It is evident there is nothing more in it than that " A people cannot be free from the contagion of guilt that communicates with a flagitious Priest, or consents to the unjust and unlawful Episcopacy of their ruler," as it is expressed in the same Epistle.[2] And again, " that those who continue in the unlawful communions of gross, and wretched, and impenitent Bishops, are polluted thereby, and being united in the crime, cannot be separated in the punishment."[3] In a word, nothing plainer than that all aimed at is, that the people have an inherent right to separate from Bishops when their communions are so polluted as Basilides' was, that they cannot be continued in, without the manifest hazard of their souls who continue in them; and that it is their duty to adhere to worthy Bishops (such as Sabinus, who had been duly and canonically chosen and ordained), notwithstanding some member or members of the Episcopal College should interpose (as Stephen, and, it seems some more had done,) for the restitution of the unworthy Bishop.

XL. That that which I have given is the true sense and purport of the afore-cited passage, will be farther evident

[1] Propter quod *plebs* obsequens præceptis Dominicis, et Deum metuens, à peccatore *Præposito* separare se debet, nec se ad sacrilegi sacerdotis sacrificia miscere; quando *ipsa* maximè habeat *potestatem* vel *eligendi* dignos sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi. Ep. 67, (Pamelio 68,) p. 171.

[2] Nec sibi plebs blandiatur quasi immunis esse à contagio delicti possit, cum sacerdote peccatore communicans, et ad injustum atque illicitum *Præpositi* sui Episcopatum consensum suum commodans. *Ibid.*

[3] —— Ad pœnam venire non tantum qui mala faciunt, sed etiam eos qui talia agentibus consentiunt; qui dum malis et peccatoribus, et pœnitentiam non agentibus illicita communicatione miscentur, nocentium contactibus polluuntur, et dum junguntur in culpa, sic nec in pœna separantur. P. 175.

when we consider that it is this very same Epistle, and in the very next subjoined periods, that affords us plain, and strong, and solid argument against the people's having (in those days) the right of choosing their own Bishops, and that all their interest was giving of testimony to their life and conversation. The Bishops who wrote the Epistle do indeed insist on this popular interest as very necessary; but then they do so insist on it, as makes it evident that the people had no more allowed them. They insist on three Scripture precedents for it. The first is, that "Moses (Numbers xx, 25, &c.) was commanded to instal Eleazar in the Priesthood before the whole congregation." The second, that when an "Apostle was to be substituted in the room of Judas, St Peter (Acts i. 15,) stood up in the midst of the Disciples," &c. From these precedents they infer that a Bishop ought to be ordained in presence of the people. Why? Because he was to be chosen by the votes of the people. Who can imagine that St Cyprian and his colleagues were such dunces as not to have known that neither Eleazar nor Matthias was chosen by popular voices? But what needs more? Nothing plainer than that all they adduced those precedents for was that the election and ordination of a Bishop ought to be performed [*plebe præsente*] and [*sub omnium oculis*] and [*non nisi sub populi assistentis conscientia*]—that is, before a solemn meeting of the people. And they do most distinctly determine this popular interest, by assigning the reason of it to be no other than that he who was to be ordained might be "approved by public trial and testimony," and "that the people being present, the crimes of the wicked might be detected, or the merits of the virtuous published, and so the ordination might be lawful and accountable, being examined with the approbation and judgment of all."[1] But the third precedent is the most considerable. It is that of the election and ordination of the seven Deacons recorded Acts vi.—a precedent which

[1] —Ut sacerdos *plebe præsente*, sub omnium oculis deligatur, et dignus atque idoneus publico judicio ac *testimonio* comprobetur—non nisi sub populi assistentis conscientia fieri oportere, ordinationes ut plebe præsente vel detegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita prædicentur, et sit ordinatio justa et legitima; quæ omnium suffragio et judicio fuerit examinata. Ep. 67, p. 172.

might indeed have given some countenance to popular elections if the Synod had had a mind to assert them. But is it not adduced for this end? So far from it, that they seem deliberately to have avoided it, for all the use they make of the precedent is exactly the same, and neither more nor less than what they made of the other two precedents, namely, simple testimony, as appears from the words on the margin.[1] Neither is this all; for

XLI.—Having gone through those instances, and for no other end than I have shewn, they proceed next to give a plain and positive account of the manner of promoting Bishops in those times. "It is diligently to be observed, as descending from Divine tradition and Apostolic practice, and it is actually observed with us (in Africa), and generally in all provinces, that for celebrating ordinations aright, all the neighbouring Bishops of the province do meet where the people are whose Bishop is to be ordained, and that he be chosen in the presence (not by the votes) of the people, which most perfectly knows every man's life, and has observed his behaviour by his conversation; which course also we perceive hath been observed with you (in Spain) in the ordination of our colleague Sabinus, who has been promoted to the bishopric with the suffrage (approbation, commendation, or good-liking) of the fraternity, and by the judgment of the Bishops who were present."[2] Here, I say, we have a plain account of Episcopal promotions in the days of

[1] "Nec hoc in Episcoporum tantum et sacerdotum, sed in Diaconorum ordinationibus observasse Apostolos animadvertimus, de quo et ipso in Actis eorum scriptum est: ET CONVOCAVERUNT, inquit, ILLI DUODECIM TOTAM PLEBEM DISCIPULORUM ET DIXERUNT EIS. Quod utique iccirco tam diligenter et caute convocata plebe tota gerebatur, ne quis ad altaris ministerium, vel ad sacerdotalem locum indignus obreperet." Ep. 67, p. 172. Quæ verba manifestissme ad testimonium pertinent, nulla vero vi ad vocem, quam vocant electivam, aptari possunt.

[2] Propter quod diligenter de traditione Divina et Apostolica observatione servandum est et tenendum quod apud nos quoque, et fere per universas provincias tenetur, ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas ad eam plebem, cui Præpositus ordinatur, Episcopi ejusdem provinciæ proximi quique conveniant, et Episcopus deligatur *plebe præsente*, quæ singulorum vitam plenissimè novit, et unius cujusque actum de ejus conversatione perspexit. Quod et apud vos factum videmus in Sabini Collegæ nostri ordinatione, ut de universæ fraternitatis *suffragio*, et de Episcoporum qui in præsentia convenerant—*judicio*, Episcopatus et deferretur —— *Ibid.* p. 172.

St Cyprian. The neighbouring Bishops of the province met in the city that wanted a Bishop, and elected, ordained, and admitted into their college such a man as they judged most proper for the office. And this they did in presence of the people met in full congregation, because the people were the best witnesses of his life and conversation.

XLII.—Divers other things are observable in this memorable passage, such as, 1. That it has been the belief of this African Council that Episcopacy was of Divine institution; of which more hereafter. 2. That the combinations of Bishops into Provincial Societies was of the same original. And 3. Whereas they say [fere] almost in all Provinces enquiry might be made into the reason of such a limitation, and whether it be probable that it was upon the account of Alexandria, which, as St Jerome tells us, had something singular in the promotion of its Bishops, namely, "that they were chosen by the Presbyters." But I shall not at present discourse these matters. Only let me add, that Origen (St Cyprian's contemporary), on Lev. viii. 4, accords most exactly with our Provincial Synod.—"Although the Lord," says he, "had laid down rules about the instalment of the High Priest, and had chosen him, yet the congregation is convocated; for in the ordination of a Priest (or Bishop), the *presence* of the people is necessary, that all may know assuredly that he who of all the people is the excellentest, the learnedest, the holiest, and the eminentest for all virtue, is the person chosen to the Priesthood; and this is done, *the people standing by*, that there may be no room left for after retractions or scruples; and this is that which the Apostle commands in the ordination of a Bishop, saying he must have a good testimony from these that are without," &c.[1] Thus, I say, (as the aforementioned African Council, so) Origen ascribes no more to the people but presence and testimony, and that

[1] Licet ergo Dominus de constituendo pontificæ præcipisset, et Dominus elegisset, tamen convocatur et Synagoga. Requiritur enim in ordinando *sacerdote et præsentia populi*, ut sciant omnes, et certi sint, quia qui præstantior est ex omni populo, qui doctior, qui sanctior, qui in omni virtute eminentior, ille eligitur ad sacerdotium, et hoc *adstante populo*, ne qua post modum retractatio cuiquam, ne quis scrupulus resideret. Hoc est autem quod et Apostolus præcepit in ordinatione sacerdotis, dicens—OPORTET AUTEM ILLUM ET TESTIMONIUM HABERE BONUM AB HIS QUI FORIS SUNT.

for the sake of this. Not one syllable of the people's elective vote, unless it be that it is fairly excluded by the whole grain and tendency of the discourse. Let me farther add Lampridius's account of the order of the Emperor Alexander Severus, (contemporary with Origen,) to be observed in the promotion of persons to the civil government of provinces, &c. "He published their names," says the historian, "exhorting the people, that if any had any crime to object against the persons, he might make it appear by evident proof, under pain of capital punishment if he did not prove it, giving this reason for it, that seeing both Christians and Jews used thus to proclaim such as were to be ordained Priests, it was hard that the same course should not be observed concerning the governors of provinces to whom men's lives and fortunes were committed."[1] Can any man desire a clearer commentary on the above cited testimonies of the African Council and Origen? Will any man say that in this Emperor's time, the governors of provinces, &c. were promoted by popular elections? Is it not most certain (nay, evident even from the words of Lampridius), that all allowed to the people in such promotions was testimony? And was not this allowed them in imitation of the Christians in their promotions of their Bishops.

XLIII.—Much more might have been collected to this purpose from divers authors who lived before St Cyprian's time; but it is only the Cyprianic age I am at present concerned in; and what I have said is enough to shew that the fathers of that age did very little believe that the power of choosing their own pastors was a right, a grant, a legacy of our Saviour's left to the people; a privilege belonging to them, as they are Christ's Disciples, as G[ilbert] R[ule] calls it in his "True Representation of Presbyterian Government;"[2] such a legacy as the people can no more transfer nor alienate

[1] Ubi aliquos voluisset vel rectores provinciis dare, vel Præpositos facere, vel procuratores, *i. e.* rationales, ordinare, nomina eorum proponebat, hortans populum ut siquis quid haberet criminis, probaret manifestis rebus; si non probasset, subiret pœnam capitis: dicebatque, grave esse, quum id Christiani et Judæi facerent in prædicandis sacerdotibus qui ordinandi sunt, non fieri in provinciarum rectoribus, quibus et fortunæ hominum committerentur et capita. Lamprid. Alex. Sever. cap. 45, p. 997. Edit. Lugd. Batav. anno 1671.

[2] P. 13, 14, 15, 16.

than they can their part of Heaven, as Cartwright, cited by Calderwood, and approved too,[1] would have it. No such legacy did those Fathers (I say) believe to belong to the people; they did not discover it in all Christ's testament; it had no footing either in Divine tradition or Apostolical observation or practice, so far as they had eyes to penetrate into them. And I shall readily confess myself as short-sighted as they were; for I have never yet been able to trace such a legacy in any corner of the whole New Testament as we have it. I know not if G[ilbert] R[ule] will pretend that it was a verbal legacy, and can be proved by unwritten tradition. But to pass this; it is enough, if in St Cyprian's time the people had no such power; for if they had no elective voices in the promotion of their Bishops, it will not be every—it will not be any crazy proof that will make it credible that they had the power of definitive voices in Provincial Councils. And all this will farther appear when we consider,

XLIV.—2. That in St Cyprian's days the governors of the Church had as good a sense as we have now of the multitudes being very unfit and unqualified—very insufficient and incompetent for being entrusted with powers of so great consequence as either that of choosing their Bishops, or this of defining in Provincial Councils. St Cyprian sticks not to bestow the epithet of *unskilful* upon the multitude.[2] And he gives a very sensible account of their weakness to Antonianus, when he tells him how easily many of them were disposed, not by the badness of their inclinations, but their ignorance, to turn libellatics (as they called them) in the days of the Decian persecution.[3] And doth he not suppose them weak and easily imposed on, when he makes it an aggravation of the villany of his five rebellious Presbyters, that they had taken such advantages of the weakness of the people as to have so and so seduced and withdrawn

[1] Alt. Damas. p. 332.

[2] Vide p. 418 in note.

[3] Nunc tamen etiam iste qui libello maculatus est, postea quam nobis admonentibus didicit nec hoc se facere debuisse, et si manus pura sit, et os ejus feralis cibi contagia nulla polluerint, conscientiam tamen ejus esse pollutam; flet auditis nobis, et lamentatur, et quod deliquerit nunc admonetur, et non tam *crimine*, quam *errore* deceptus, quod jam de cætero instructus, et paratus sit contestatur. Ep. 55, p. 107.

them from their duty to their Bishop?[1] nay, even the martyrs and confessors themselves (those of the people who had the greatest credit and authority) on divers occasions are not spared by him, but very freely charged with want of thinking and skill in the discipline of the Church. They are represented by him sometimes, I say, as having more zeal than knowledge, and as very much needing to be instructed and corrected.[2] Now, how is it imaginable that those who were so sensible, and had so much experience and conviction of the weakness, the ignorance, the unskilfulness (I may justly add, if not the giddiness, yet the headiness and rashness) of the people, would yet have allowed them the privilege of a definitive voice in any ecclesiastical judicatory? but the full force of this consideration will be best discerned in the sequel. But neither is this all, for

XLV.—3. Whatever interest the people had in Provincial Synods, it did equally belong to all. No footstep of any interest, or right, or privilege, appropriated to some beyond the rest—nothing like a delegation of any number of persons by the people—no representation of the people by any of their own quality—no commissioners from the people to appear in their stead in Provincial or any other Councils—no intimations—no vestiges, I say, of any such democratical schemes or forms observable in the monuments of that age. Whatever right, power, interest, or privilege belonged to the people, belonged indefinitely, *i. e.* to all the [stantes laici] or as sometimes it is worded, to the [plebs universa] the [omnis fraternitas] and the [omnis fratrum numerus] that is, the whole multitude of the faithful, without exception, restriction, or limitation—without obligation or confinement to any thing like delegation, representation, or personation.

[1] Vide de lapsis, p. 137, et Ep. 16, p. 36—Ep. 17, p. 39—Ep. 43, p. 82.

[2] Martyres per calorem gloriæ Scripturam minus contemplantes—à Presbyteris et Diaconis suggerentibus admoneri deberent—Ep. 16, p. 38.

Et credideram quidem Presbyteros et Diaconos—monere vos (martyres et confessores) et instruere plenissime—Ep. 15, p. 33.

—" Frater noster Lucianus et ipse unus de Confessoribus, fide quidem calidus et virtute robustus, sed minus Dominica lectione fundatus—*imperiti* jampridem se *vulgi* auctorem constituens — universorum confessorum nomine—Epistolam scripsit qua pene omne vinculum fidei, et timor Dei, et mandatum Domini, et Evangelii sanctitas et firmitas solveretur. Lucianus vero circa intelligentiam lectionis Dominicæ—minus peritus"—Ep. 27. Multa hujusmodi testimonia acervasse facilimum fuisset.

Nothing more manifest than this in the records of that age. All the Epistles wherein the people were concerned are directed *plebi universæ*, to all and every one of the people, or in terms equivalent. Not a syllable in so much as one, in the least insinuating that there were any laic representatives of the people to whom such Epistles were either principally or particularly directed, as is evident from the margin,[1] wherein all such Epistles are accounted for. Would you have it yet more particularly and plainly unfolded? consider then what follows :—

XLVI.—St Cyprian tells his Presbyters and Deacons, Ep. 14, as we have heard before, "that he had resolved to do nothing without the consent of his people indefinitely." And Ep. 38, having directed his letter *plebi universæ*, to the whole laity, as well as to his Presbyters and Deacons, he tells them, "that in the ordination of clergymen it was his custom to consult them," &c.[2] And Ep. 45, he tells Cornelius he had communicated his mind and purpose about adhering to him (Cornelius) as rightful Bishop of Rome, and repudiating the communion of Novatianus, to the brethren, and to all the laity.[3] And Ep. 61, he tells Lucius, Bishop of Rome, that he (Cyprian) and his Colleagues, and the *whole fraternity* (*i. e.* all the faithful,) sent that congratulatory epistle to him.[4] And Ep. 81, written very

[1] The inscription of Ep. 17, (p. 39,) runs thus—Cyprianus fratribus in plebe consistentibus—indefinitely to all those who had not lapsed.

Of Ep. 38, (p. 74.) Cyprianus Presbyteris et Diaconibus, item *plebi universæ*.

Of Ep. 39, (p. 76.) Cyp. Presbyteris et Diaconibus, et *plebi universæ*.

Of Ep. 40, (p. 78.) Cyp. Presbyteris et Diaconibus, et *plebi universæ*, carissimis et desideratissimis fratribus.

Of Ep. 43, (p. 81.) Cyp. *plebi universæ*. Of Ep. 58, (p. 120.) Cyprianus *plebi* Thibari *consistenti*—to all the faithful there. Of Ep. 65, (162.) Cyprianus Epicteto fratri, et *plebi* Assuras *consistenti*, still indefinitely. Of Ep. 67, (p. 170.) Cyprianus, Cæcilius, &c. Felici Presbytero et *plebibus consistentibus* ad Legionem et Asturicæ ; item Lælio Diacono et *plebi* Emeritæ consistentibus ; fratribus in Domino, Salutem, to all the faithful in those districts. Of Ep. 81, (p. 238.) Cyp. Presbyteris et Diaconibus, et *plebi universæ*.

[2] In ordinationibus clericis solemus vos ante consulere, et mores ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare—Ep. 38, p. 74.

[3] Quanquam mens nostra et propositum jam tunc fratribus et *plebi* istic *universæ* manifestatum fuisset—Ep. 45, p. 87.

[4] Vicarias vero pro nobis ego et Collegæ et *fraternitas omnis* has ad vos literas mittimus—Ep. 61, p. 145.

shortly before his death to his Presbyters and Deacons, and *all* the *people*, he tells them, that with God's assistance, before the sentence of death be passed against him, they shall in common order what is to be done, &c.[1] Thus it was at Carthage, and just so it was at Rome. Cornelius, Ep. 49, accounting to St Cyprian about the reconciliation of Maximus, Urbanus, &c. tells him that the whole transaction was communicated to the people, and that thereupon there was a mighty concourse of the fraternity.[2] And St Cyprian in his next Epistle to Cornelius, congratulates the unanimity of the people, and their joy at such a reconciliation, using the comprehensive phrase of the *whole fraternity ;* and he farther tells him that it likewise was the cause of great rejoicing to the *whole number* of the *brethren* at Carthage.[3] And Ep. 59, he tells the same Cornelius that he doubts not but he (Cornelius) communicates his (Cyprian's) letters not only to the most flourishing clergy presiding with him, but also to the most holy and most numerous laity.[4] From these instances, it is plain that it was the whole laity that was concerned in particular Churches, and not any particular delegated or privileged number of them.

XLVII.—And so it was also with regard to provinces. Thus, when the Roman clergy, Ep. 30, and the Roman confessors, Ep. 31, approve of St Cyprian's resolution and advice about delaying to determine anything concerning the lapsers till the persecution should relent, and Synods might be convocated, they comprehend all the faithful indefinitely, as having access to those Synods.[5] And our Martyr, Ep. 16, assures his Presbyters that if any of them should continue to reconcile the lapsers without his allowance, they should be made to answer for it before the *whole people*, so

[1] Quid autem de cetero nos observare conveniat—in commune disponemus—Ep. 81, p. 240.

[2] Quod erat consequens, omnis hic actus *populo* fuerat insinuandus—*magnus fraternitatis concursus* factus est—Ep. 49, p. 93.

[3] Merito illos revertentes summo, ut scribis, gaudio et Clerus et *plebs et fraternitas omnis excepit*—Nam cum istic (Carthagini) lætatus sit *omnis fratrum numerus*—Ep. 51, p. 95.

[4] —Quanquam sciam—florentissimo illic Clero tecum præsidenti, et sanctissimæ atque *amplissimæ plebi* legere te semper literas nostras—Ep. 59, p. 139.

[5] —Collatione consiliorum cum Episcopis, Presbyteris, Diaconis, Confessoribus, pariter ac *stantibus laicis* facta—Ep. 30, p. 59. Vide paria—Ep. 31, p. 63, et Ep. 55, p. 102.

soon as a Synod might meet.[1] And again, Ep. 19, he tells his clergy that the case of the lapsers shall be considered and determined, when it shall be seasonable for Bishops with their clergy to meet, [præsente et stantium plebe] the multitude of the faithful being also present.[2] And Ep. 34, he again tells them that the case of Philumenus, &c. shall be examined in the next Provincial Synod, when he shall have opportunity to meet, not only with his Colleagues the Bishops, but with the *whole people*.[3]

XLVIII.—By this time I think it is evident that whatever interest or privilege, power, right or prerogative, the laity had in the government of the Church, whether in the judicatories of particular dioceses, or in Provincial Councils, the same belonged equally to all who could come under that denomination. Now, this I take to be a perfect demonstration that none of that denomination—none of the *plebs*, had a definitive voice in a Provincial Synod; for if one had it, all had it; and that all should have had it, is so unreasonable, so unaccountable, so impracticable, as not only to make it incredible, but even unintelligible, if not simply impossible. If all had it, how could any order have been observed? How could infinite confusions have been avoided? How could all have been brought to a tolerable knowledge of the merits of any one of a thousand causes? or of the weight of any of a thousand questions? or of the true state of any one of a thousand controversies? How could the governors of the Church have signified anything? How could they have served the ends of government? Nay, where had there been a fund for the distinction between governors and subjects? But there is no end of such absurdities. I shall instance, therefore, only in one thing more, to shew the incredibility of such a constitution. If all and every one of the people had definitive voices in Provincial Councils, we may suppose them all to meet, when any such Council was convocated; but where could such a number meet? It is

[1] —Acturi et apud nos, et apud Confessores ipsos, et apud *plebem universam* causam suam; cum Domine permittente, in sinum matris Ecclesiæ colligi cœperimus—Ep. 16, p. 38.

[2] Ep. 19, p. 42.

[3] —Non tantum cum Collegis meis, sed et cum *plebe ipsa universa*—Ep. 34, p. 68.

certain from all the histories, and all the circumstances of the Church in those times, that they did not—could not meet in the open fields—that would have given too colourable grounds of suspicion and jealousy to the then heathen civil governors ; an offence very ill suiting with the principles, as well as the prudence of Christians then, who, as they abhorred all rebellion, all defensive arms for religion, so they were proportionably careful to avoid all appearances of it. But if all the faithful of eighty-seven dioceses, for example, had met in any open plain about Carthage, who sees not that they would have made the figure of a formidable army? Besides, it is certain, and we have our Martyr's word for it,[1] that by the custom of those times, Councils were kept where there was an altar placed, and seats for at least all the Bishops who were present, so that nothing could be surer than that they were kept within doors. And it is as certain that in all Carthage in those times, (if there were any churches at all, for that is a question among learned men), there was neither church nor chapel large enough to contain such a confluence of people. Nay, what modern church can contain so many thousands as we are bound both in reason and charity to believe were in those eighty-seven dioceses, whose Bishops met at Carthage, anno 256. Nothing more certain than that all the *stantes laici*, all the faithful, had not definitive voices in Synods, nay, that none of them had them, seeing every one had as much interest as any other. In this third, with the two preceding considerations laid together, there seems to me to be so much evidence against the people's having had the right of definitive voices in Provincial Synods, that they may be sufficient to satisfy any rational man about it, though there was no more to be said; and yet there is much more, as I shall shew as briefly as I can.

XLIX.—4. Then it must be obvious to common sense that the people had not definitive voices in Provincial Councils, if they had not them in the judicatories of the

[1] Cornelium noster quemadmodum Episcopi Africani Novatiani legatos retudissent docens, hæc habet : " Honoris etiam communis memores, et gravitatis sacerdotalis ac sanctitatis respectum tenentes, ea quæ ex diverso in librum ad nos transmissum congesta fuerant acerbationibus criminosis, respuimus ; considerantes pariter et ponderantes, quod in tanto fratrum religiosoque conventu, *considentibus Dei sacerdotibus*, (*i. e.* Episcopis) et *altari posito*, nec legi debeant, nec audiri"—Ep. 45, p. 87.

particular churches to which they belonged, and whereof they were members. Now, the particular Churches of Rome and Carthage are two concerning which we have as full and distinct accounts as of any of those times, and considering how much in those days Catholic Unity was in request, and how much this depends on uniformity in (at least) the substantials of the frame and constitution of particular churches, it is rational to think that generally all other particular churches were of the same frame and constitution with those two most renowned churches; or if there was any (if anywhere there was any) discrepancy, it is rational to impute it to some defect in the discrepant churches, rather than to any excess or error in those two so conspicuous and exactly constituted churches. I say, if anywhere there was any substantial discrepancy. And I say it merely upon the supposition of the simple possibility of it, not at all upon the supposition of any probability that *de facto* there was any such discrepancy. Now, in the administration of the government and discipline of neither of those two churches, in the days of St Cyprian, had the people definitive voices.

L.—Not of the Church of Rome, neither when she wanted a Bishop, nor when she had one. She wanted a Bishop more than a year between the death of Fabianus and the promotion of Cornelius; and during all that vacancy the administration of the government was solely in the hands of the Presbyters and Deacons. The people had no interest in it. So those Presbyters and Deacons declare most evidently in their Epistles written to St Cyprian, in the days of that *inter-pontificum*, that inter-reign, if we may so call it. They tell the Clergy of Carthage, Ep. 8, that "they were the men, who ruled the flock, instead of the pastor," the Bishop.[1] So that the flock had no hand in ruling itself. And they tell them that "they were those who separated the lapsers from the communion of the Church."[2] And Ep. 30, they tell our Martyr, that "they were the persons who at that time exerted the governing power of the Church in ab-

[1] Et cum incumbat *nobis* qui *videmur Præpositi* esse, et *vice pastoris* custodire gregem—Ep. 8, (Pam. 3,) p. 16.

[2] Quos (lapsos) quidem separatos à *nobis* non derelinquimus, sed ipsos cohortati sumus——*Ibid.* p. 17.

staining these who had sacrificed to the heathen deities;" and that they did it "as then having the power of granting or refusing communion, and the only physicians who could prescribe medicines to the diseased lapsers."[1] Indeed they do expressly distinguish themselves, as being the administrators, from the confessors themselves, (those who of all the people could have made the likeliest pretences to a joint power in the administration,) as being only approvers of the measures they had taken.[2] They do indeed in express terms confess that there were acts of government which they could not perform, which could not be performed but by a Bishop, and so must be left unperformed till one should be installed. But then in that same period they signify that "they had done all that a clergy without a Bishop could do."[3] They say that they had resolved so and so concerning the lapsers, not with the advice of the people, but of divers Bishops who had occasion to be in the city, thereby fairly excluding the people.[4] And all this they had done, "conforming their administration of the government and discipline, with the greatest care they could, to the rules of prudence; avoiding both extremes of too great slackness and too great severity."[5]

[1] Nec non etiam contra illos quoque, qui illicitis sacrificiis manus suas atque ora polluerant—fidem *nostram* (Presbyteris et Diaconibus) consensumque monstravimus. Absit enim—ut—properata nimis remedia *communicationum* utique non profutura præstentur—Ubi enim poterit indulgentiæ medicina procedere, si etiam *ipse medicus* intercepta pœnitentia indulget periculis. Ep. 30, (Pam. 31,) p. 57, 58.

[2] Quanquam Confessorum quoque——literas habeas conspirantes cum literis *nostris*, quibus severitatem Evangelicæ disciplinæ protulerunt, et illicitas (sive lapsorum, sive aliorum quorundam martyrum et confessorum) *petitiones* ab Ecclesiæ pudore revocarunt. *Ibid.* p. 58.

[3] Quanquam *nobis* (Presbyteris et Diaconibus) differendæ hujus rei necessitas major incumbat, quibus, post excessum nobilissimæ memoriæ viri Fabiani, nondum est *Episcopus* propter rerum et temporum difficultates *constitutus*, qui omnia ista moderetur, et eorum, qui lapsi sunt, possit cum *auctoritate* et *consilio* habere rationem. *Ibid.* p. 58, 59.

[4] Cujus temperamenti moderamen *nos* hic tenere quærentes—cum Episcopis vicinis nobis et appropinquantibus——et longe positis——ante constitutionem *Episcopi* nihil innovandum putavimus, sed lapsorum curam mediocriter temperandam esse credidimus; ut interim dum *Episcopus* dari à Deo *nobis* sustinetur, in suspenso eorum qui moras possunt dilationis sustinere, causa teneatur. *Ibid.* p. 60.

[5] *Nobis* tamen anxie curantibus, ut nec pronam *nostram* improbi homines laudent facilitatem, nec vere pœnitentes accusent *nostram* quasi duram crudelitatem. *Ibid.* p. 61.

And the same inter-pontifical power of their's is likewise fairly supposed in Ep. 36, written likewise to our Martyr, as we shall see by and by. But this is not all.

LI.—Our Martyr also always during that vacancy at Rome, writes to those Roman Presbyters and Deacons as having in their hands the administration of the affairs of that Church, without so much as once supposing or insinuating that the people had any hand in it, or share of it. Particularly Ep. 9, he writes to them as having the right to write authoritative letters during that interval.[1] And Ep. 20, he writes to them as those to whom he was obliged to give an account of his own administration, and discipline, and diligence, &c.[2] Not indeed as to the governors of a superior church, to which he stood in any degree of subjection, but according to the then common rules and measures observed between sister churches for the mutual confirmation and ratification of their respective acts of government and discipline. And he writes so to them that there might be no discrepancy, but an exact and perfect uniformity in the exercise of government between him and them,[3] which evidently shews that which I aim at, namely, that he looked on them, in those circumstances of the Church of Rome, as the only persons who were in the actual administration of her government. He proceeds likewise upon the same supposition in Ep. 27, not only insisting on the common obligation lying on sister churches to account to one another for their discipline for the preservation of Catholic Unity,[4] but particularly, thankfully resenting the good office they, as the then governors of the Roman Church had done him, by de-

[1] Legi etiam literas——et quoniam me in iisdem literis et scriptura, et sensus, et chartæ ipsæ quoque moverunt——eandem ad *vos* epistolam authenticam remisi, ut recognoscatis an ipsa sit quam Clementio Hypodiacono perferendam dedistis: perquam etenim grave est, si *Epistolæ clericæ* (ecce non omissam solum, verum etiam exclusam plebem), veritas mendacio aliquo et fraude corrupta est. Ep. 9, (Pam. 4,) p. 19.

[2] —Necessarium duxi ad *vos* (Presbyteris et Diaconis Romanis), has literas facere, quibus *vobis* actus nostri, et disciplinæ et diligentiæ ratio redderetur. Ep. 20, (Pam 15,) p. 42.

[3] —Standum putavi et cum vestra sententia, ne actus noster qui adunatus esse et consentire circa omnia debet, in aliquo discreparet. *Ibid.* p. 43.

[4] Post factas ad *vos* literas, fratres carissimi, quibus actus noster expositus——aliud accessit, quod nec ipsum latere vos debuit——Ep. 27, (Pam. 23,) p. 52.

claring so positively and distinctly, that it was their sentiment that the lapsers should be obliged fully to perform their courses of penance before their reconciliation,[1] which had very much assisted him, and strengthened his hands in keeping up the vigour of his own discipline. And his next Epistle to them is of the same strain, and imports the same thing, namely, that they, and they alone, and not in conjunction with the people, had in their hands the administration of the government and discipline of the Roman Church, so long as she wanted a Bishop.[2] And they, in their answer to him, (Ep. 36,) commend his care in giving them an account of Privatus Lambesitanus, (which it seems he had given them in another Epistle not now extant,) and they do it for this reason, that it becomes all governors of Churches (of which number they reckon themselves to be, especially in their present circumstances,) to watch for the welfare of the Church Catholic.[3]

LII.—To the preceding accounts, not for completing but for increasing the demonstration, let me add the testimony of Celerinus, a noble Roman Confessor, who lived in those days. Two of his female friends, Numeria and Candida, had lapsed, and he was earnest to have them restored to the communion of the Church. He writes, therefore, to his brother confessor Lucianus, living at Carthage, desiring him to intercede, to petition for them, (as then was the custom of Martyrs and Confessors, as by and by we shall more fully learn ;) why? because the *Præpositi*, the governors of the Church of Rome, the Presbyters and Deacons to whose inspection they belonged, had " ordered them to continue in the state of penitents, till a *Bishop* should be constituted."[4] A testi-

[1] Opportune vero supervenerunt literæ vestræ——Laborantes hic nos et contra invidiæ impetum totis fidei viribus resistentes, multum sermo vester adjuvit, ut divinitus compendium fieret——quod secundum Evangelii legem stet nobiscum fortiter atque unanimiter etiam sententia vestra. *Ibid.* p. 53.

[2] Vide totam Epistolam, nobis, 35, Pamel. 29, p. 69.

[3] Quod autem pertinet ad Privatum Lambesitanum, pro tuo more fecisti, qui rem nobis sollicitam nunciare voluisti, *omnes* enim *nos* (Ecclesiarum Rectores) decet pro corpore totius Ecclesiæ, cujus per varias quasque provincias membra digesta sunt *excubare*. Ep. 36, (Pamel. 30,) p. 71.

[4] Quarum jam causâ audita, præceperunt eas *Præpositi* tantisper sic esse, donec *Episcopus constituatur*. Ep. Inter Cyprianicas, 21, p. 46.

mony equally and irresistibly demonstrating both that a Bishop had more power than Presbyters, being able to do what they could not; and that, during that inter-pontificate at Rome, which this while, we had in view the administration of the government and discipline (so far as in an interpontfiicate they could be administered) was entirely in the hands of the *Præpositi*, the Presbyters and Deacons, and no share of it in the hands of the *plebs*, the laity.

LIII.—Far less is it to be imagined that the people had definitive voices in the exercise of the government of that Church after the inthronization of Cornelius. It had been certainly a pretty odd constitution of a Church, if, during the vacancy of the Episcopal chair, the power had been wholly in the Presbyters and Deacons, but so as to devolve on the people when the chair was filled. But there is no need of such reasoning, however clear and forcible, where the matter of fact is so convincing. For nothing can be clearer than that the people had not so much as a shadow of a share of the governing power, in a very remarkable instance recorded by Cornelius himself, in that which is the 49th among St Cyprian's Epistles. The story in short is this—" Maximus, Urbanus, Sidonius, Macarius, and a great many more of those who had separated with Novatianus, when Cornelius was promoted to the Bishopric, turning sensible of their error, signified their willingness to return to the communion of Cornelius, which was indeed the only true Catholic communion. So soon as Cornelius gets sufficient proof and assurance of their sincerity in it, he is as willing to receive them as they are to return. But a matter of such consequence must be transacted with both a due deliberation and a suitable solemnity. First, therefore, he convocates the Presbytery; and that the reception of the returners might be the firmer, being performed with common advice and consent, five other Bishops were also present. In this meeting of Bishops and Presbyters the case is maturely considered, and the opinions of all present are not only asked, but taken in writing (a copy whereof was sent to St Cyprian with this 49th Epistle); it was unanimously consented to by all, it seems, that the returners should be received. This done, they are all called in, and they humbly beseech that their error may be forgotten as well

as forgiven, and they promise to live dutifully for the future." And then after the reconciliation is thus really and effectually made by Cornelius, with the advice of his colleagues and presbyters, the people are allowed to be present; but to what end? That their opinions may be asked and their votes taken? Nothing like it. What then? To be witnesses (and that indeed was all) of the reception of the returners. The very words are—" That they might *see* them fixed in the Church, whom for a long time they had with great grief seen wandering and going astray." And so after the returners had publicly and solemnly, in the audience of the people, renewed their acknowledgments of their error, and their professions, " We commanded Maximus the Presbyter, to take his place, (says Cornelius) and the rest we received with the great good liking of all the people." [1] So evident it is from the series of the Epistle, that all the people's part was to be witnesses, give their approbation, and express their joy and satisfaction. And it is farther confirmed by what has already been observed in St Cyprian's return to this Epistle of Cornelius's,[2] and from Epistle 52, written to our martyr by those very persons who were reconciled, Maximus, Urbanus, &c., wherein they tell him, " they had made their peace with Cornelius their Bishop, and likewise with all the clergy, to the *joy* of the

[1] Omni igitur actu ad me (Cornelium Episcopum) perlato, placuit contrahi Presbyterium. Adfuerunt etiam Episcopi quinque, qui et hodie præsentes fuerunt, ut firmato consilio, quid circa personam eorum (ad Ecclesiam redeuntium) observari deberet, consensu omnium statueretur: Et ut motum omnium et consilium singulorum dignosceres, etiam sententias nostras (qui in consessu fuimus) placuit in notitiam vestri proferri, quas et subjectas leges. His ita gestis, in Presbyterium venerunt Maximus, Urbanus, Sidonius, et Macarius, et plerique fratres qui se eis adjunxerant, summis precibus desiderantes ut ea quæ ante, fuerant gesta in oblivionem cederent—Quod erat consequens, omnis hic actus populo fuerat insinuandus ut et ipsos *viderent* in Ecclesia constitutos, quos errantes et palabundos jamdiu viderant et dolebant. Quorum (nempe redeuntium) voluntate cognita, *magnus* (ergo non totius) fraternitatis concursus factus est. Una vox erat omnium gratias Deo agentium, gaudium pectoris lachrymis experimentes; complectentes eos, quasi hodie pœna carceris fuissent liberati—quapropter Maximum Presbyterum locum suum agnoscere jussimus: cæteros cum ingenti populi suffragio recepimus—Ep. 49, (Pamel. 46,) p. 92, 93.

[2] Vide supra.

whole Church," &c.[1]—most clearly and distinctly excluding the people from all share of power or authority in the reconciliation. Such was the people's interest in the government of the Church of Rome.

LIV.—Nor was it greater in the Church of Carthage, considering what has been discoursed concerning the Church of Rome, and particularly, that St Cyprian was so far from questioning any thing in the constitution of the government of that Church, that he always justified and approved it; it is not imaginable that the people's interest was greater or different in his own. Indeed, that it was no greater, might be infinitely proved; it might be proved from almost every particular epistle he wrote in the days of his retirement, whether to his Presbyters and Deacons by themselves, or to his people, or to clergy and people together, or particularly to the Martyrs and Confessors. For as in most of them he expressly distinguishes his clergy from his people, so he either directly affirms, or plainly insinuates, or manifestly supposes, that during the time of his absence the reins of government and discipline (in subordination to himself) were in the hands of his Presbyters and Deacons; and that it was their part, as being *Præpositi*, rulers, and *Pastores*, shepherds, to feed the flock, to govern the people, to provide for the people, to consult the good of the people, to instruct and direct the people, to keep them calm and peaceable, to rebuke the rash, to correct the extravagant, to restrain the exorbitant. In a word, to perform all such acts of government and discipline as were proper for persons in their stations to perform in his absence; and all without so much as once saying, or supposing, or insinuating, that it was to be done in conjunction with the people. On the contrary, whoso carefully reads those epistles cannot but clearly perceive that the Martyrs and Confessors themselves (who had peculiar prerogatives) ought to have been ruled and governed by the Presbyters and Deacons. Nay, he expressly tells how much it grieved him that some of the Confessors would not be governed by the Presbyters and Deacons, and " wishes he himself were in a condition to be

[1] Nos habito consilio—cum Cornelio *Episcopo nostro* pariter et cum universo clero *pacem fecisse*, cum *gaudio* etiam universæ Ecclesiæ, prona etiam omnium caritate—Ep. 53, (Pam. 50,) p. 98.

on the place, to reduce them to order, and compress their insolencies;"[1] than which there cannot be a clearer demonstration (as of his own sovereign authority, so) that the reins of discipline were in the hands of the clergy, and no share thereof in the hands of the people. And how seriously does he complain to the Martyrs,[2] and to the people,[3] nay, even to themselves,[4] "That his Presbyters and Deacons did not govern them and keep them in order, as their stations obliged them to have done, but endeavoured to seduce and wheedle them into extravagancies and enormities." And what plainer evidence can there be for any thing than this is, that the people had no potestative interest, no definitive voice in the government? But to reckon up and insist on all arguments colligible to this purpose, would make a tedious, if not an endless work; and therefore at present I shall

[1] Dominus faciat, ut et ego iterum illos mature videre, et salutari exhortatione componere mentes eorum ad servandam gloriam suam possim. Doleo enim quando audio quosdam improbe et insolenter discurrere, et ad ineptias vel ad discordias vacare; Christi membra et jam Christum confessa, per concubitus illicitos inquinare; nec à *Diaconis* aut *Presbyteris regi* posse—Ep. 14, p. 32.

[2] Et credideram quidem Presbyteros et Diaconos, qui illic præsentes sunt, monere vos (martyres et confessores) et instruere—sed nunc cum maximo animi dolore cognosco, non tantum illic vobis non suggeri divina præcepta, sed adhuc potius impediri, ut ea quæ à vobis ipsis et circa Deum caute, et circa sacerdotem Dei (Episcopum) honorificè fiunt, â quibusdam Presbyteris resolvantur—Ep. 15, p. 33.

[3] Audio tamen quosdam de Presbyteris nec Evangelii memores, nec quid ad nos Martyres scripserint cogitantes, nec Episcopo honorem sacerdotii sui et cathedræ reservantes, jam cum Lapsis communicare cœpisse—— Vos quidem nostri Presbyteri et Diaconi monere debuerant, ut commendatas sibi oves foverent——Ego plebis nostræ et quietem novi pariter et timorem, qui in satisfactione Dei et deprecatione vigilarent, nisi illos quidam de Presbyteris gratificantes decepissent. Ep. 17, (Pamel. 12,) p. 39.

[4] Contumeliam Episcopatus nostri dissimulare et ferre possum, sicut dissimulavi semper et pertuli: sed dissimulandi nunc locus non est; quando decipiatur fraternitas nostra à quibusdam vestrum, (Presbyteris) qui dum sine ratione restituendæ salutis plausibiles esse cupiunt, magis Lapsis obsunt.—Sed nunc illi (lapsi) rei non sunt qui minus scriptura legem tenent; erunt autem rei, qui *præsunt*, et hæc fratribus non suggerunt, ut instructi à *Præpositis* faciant omnia cum Dei timore—Martyres per calorem gloriæ Scripturam minus contemplantes—à Presbyteris et Diaconis—admoneri deberent—Ep. 16, p. 36.

Et lapsis quidem potest in hoc venia concedi—sed *Præpositorum* (*i. e.* Presbyterorum et Diaconorum) est præceptum tenere, et vel properantes, vel ignorantes instruere, ne qui ovium *pastores* esse debent, lanii fiant—Ep. 15, p. 34.

content myself with the hints I have given of the no authoritative interest, the no defining power of the people in the administration of the government and discipline of the Church of Carthage during the days of our Martyr's retirement.

LV.—Had they any more when he was present? How can it be imagined? In short, how many acts of government did he perform without them? How familiar was it to him industriously to conceal matters of consequence from them! Nay, how many things did he even against their inclinations? It is not needful to insist on proving the first of these three steps, (though it were very easy to prove it copiously), for it cannot be doubted, if the other two can be made to appear, which they can, to a demonstration. He sometimes industriously concealed matters of great consequence from the people. When the emissaries of Novatianus came to him to importune him to own that false Bishop, and refuse to have communion with Cornelius as Bishop of Rome, he forthwith, without so much as acquainting the people, refused to allow those emissaries his communion.[1] Nay, when they offered to prove the crimes wherewith they charged Cornelius, and with a great deal of stir and noise craved a public hearing of him and his people, he absolutely refused it.[2] He would not allow his people to hear their calumnies. So we learn from Ep. 44. And more fully yet, Ep. 45, where he expressly tells Cornelius that he would not allow the scandalous libels of the Novatianists to be read to the people or heard by them.[3] And this he thought

[1] —A communicatione eos nostra statim cohibendos esse censuimus—Ep. 44, p. 85.

[2] Qui cum in statione invidiosis quoque convitiis et clamoribus turbulentis proruerent; et flagitarent, ut crimina quæ se afferre et probare dicebant, publicè à nobis, et à plebe cognoscerentur; gravitati nostræ negavimus convenire, ut Collegæ nostri jam delecti et ordinati, et laudabili multorum sententia comprobati, ventilandum ultra honorem maledica æmulantium voce pateremur. *Ibid.* p. 85, 86.

[3] Honoris etiam communis memores, et gravitatis sacerdotalis ac sanctitatis respectum tenentes, ex quæ ex diverso in librum ad nos transmissum congesta fuerant acerbationibus criminosis, respuimus; considerantes pariter et ponderantes, quod in tanto *fratrum* religiosoque conventu——nec legi debeant, nec audiri. Neque enim facile promenda sunt, et incaute ac temere publicanda, quæ discordioso stylo scripta audientibus scandalum moveant—Ep. 45, p. 87.

was the duty of a Bishop, viz.—thus to conceal such matters from the people,[1] and never to impart them to them, unless to this or the other person privately, when their necessity required it; as when any of his flock were to go to Rome, then he thought it needful to acquaint them with the schism which was there, that they might communicate with the true Church, and avoid the society of the schismatics.[2] In a word, like a wise and prudent governor, he did what he could to keep the people from knowing any thing that might scandalize them, frankly and readily on the other hand acquainting them with what he thought proper for them to know, and might tend to their edification.[3] What reason, what equity would have allowed of such a course, if the people had had any share, any interest in the government? if the ratification of either Cornelius's or Novatianus's Episcopacy and communion, had depended any manner of way on their decisory voices. Indeed,

LVI.—In that notable 59th Epistle, which is directed to Cornelius, he most distinctly shews that laics were very far from having that interest in the government and discipline of the Church which the Bishops and inferior Priests had. For having deduced an account of the unaccountable presumption of his Presbyters in reconciling the Lapsers so precipitantly and disorderly; he adds thus—"let laics consider what is proper for them to do in this matter; we, who are Priests, are after another manner concerned to assert and maintain the Divine Majesty, that we may not seem to neglect anything in this weighty part of our duty, seeing the Lord admonishes and says—"AND NOW, O YE PRIESTS,

[1] "Certe quod *Præpositis* et *sacerdotibus* (*i. e.* Episcopis) congruit, danda opera est, ut talia, cum à quibusdam scribuntur, per nos respuantur." Deinde variis scriptis testimoniis, n. Psal. xxxiii. 13, et xlix. 20, et Ep. iv. 29, hoc stabilito, sic pergit; "Porro——quando talia quorundam calumniosa temeritate conscripta sunt, legi apud nos non patimur." Ep. 45, p. 87.

[2] Nos enim singulis navigantibus, ne cum scandalo ullo navigarent, rationem reddentes, scimus nos hortatos eos esse, ut Ecclesiæ Catholicæ radicem et matricem agnoscerent ac tenerent. Ep. 48, p. 91.

[3] —Cum ad me talia de te (Cornelio) et compresbyteris tecum considentibus scripta venissent, quæ religiosam simplicitatem sonabant, nec ullis maledictorum et convitiorum latratibus perstrepebant, *Clero et plebi legi præcepi.* Ep. 45, p. 87. Vide similia, Ep. 51, et Ep. 61.

THIS COMMANDMENT IS FOR YOU, IF YE WILL NOT HEAR, AND IF YE WILL NOT LAY IT TO HEART, TO GIVE HONOUR TO MY NAME, SAITH THE LORD, I WILL EVEN SEND A CURSE UPON YOU, AND I WILL CURSE YOUR BLESSING," ' Mal. ii. 12. Thus, I say, he[1] most manifestly imports that it was not the concern of laics, but of Priests, to order and exercise Ecclesiastical discipline. Much more might have been adduced to this purpose; but what needs more, when it is certain, as I have fully proved already,[2] when I insisted on the Bishop's prerogative of being the *one judge*, (so fully that I shall not here add one word more about it,) that St Cyprian performed most weighty acts of government and discipline, not only without the consent, but also in opposition to the inclinations, nay, to the most eager addresses and reclamations of the people; and so much may serve at present to shew that the people had no more at Carthage than at Rome—anything like a definitive voice in any matters of government or discipline Ecclesiastical; but if not in these, then, as I have said, to be sure, not in any other church or churches of that age; but that there may remain no place for any doubt or scruple in this matter, let me add one consideration more, which, if I mistake it not, may drive the nail to the head as we say, that is, thoroughly and forcibly evince that the people had no definitive voice in particular churches, (far less by undeniable consequence) in Provincial Synods. It is,

LVII.—That even Martyrs and Confessors themselves had no such power. No man has considered the monuments of those times who is not ready to acknowledge that they, of all the people, were most likely to have had it. These, for their faith and patience, their fervent zeal, and fragrant graces, their glorious courage, and good example, that they might persevere themselves, and others might be encouraged to follow their pattern, were held in mighty reputation. They were reputed dearer to God, and in a closer communion with him, and nearer approximation to

[1] Viderint laici hoc quomodo curent; sacerdotibus labor major incumbit in asserenda, et procuranda Dei majestate, ne quid videamur in hac parte negligere; cum admoneat Dominus et dicat: ET NUNC PRÆCEPTUM HOC AD VOS EST, O SACERDOTES: SI NON AUDIERITIS ET SI NON POSUERITIS IN CORDE VESTRO UT DETIS HONOREM NOMINI MEO, DICIT DOMINUS; IMMITTAM IN VOS MALEDICTIONEM, ET MALEDICAM BENEDICTIONEM VESTRAM.—Ep. 59, p. 135.

[2] Supra, Cap. 6, Sect. 41.

him than Christians of the common size. They were reckoned in a peculiar manner *Amici Dei*, the Friends of God—those who were to be his assessors at the Day of Judgment.[1] They had *præcipuum nomen*, were Christians of highest note and greatest value ;[2] they were God's glorious soldiers, and Christ's chosen champions, and were to wear singular crowns, and have singular privileges in Heaven, and so deserved on earth to have singular prerogatives—prerogatives not granted to the other *stantes laici*, the faithful of the common fashion. And yet even these Martyrs and Confessors had not definitive voices, no not in the particular Churches they belonged to. Their petitions and desires, their intercessions and addresses, when moderate and prudent, equitable and reasonable, agreeable to the precepts of the Gospel and the Canons of the Church, and sovereignty of the Bishop, were very much regarded : but then this of petitioning, of addressing to the Bishops, was all their prerogative amounted to ; and Bishops, particularly our Martyr, made no scruple to refuse them their requests when they did not think them proper to be granted; nothing more clearly (I might almost add, nor more fully) contained in the records of that age.

LVIII.—The case of the lapsers (very numerous in the days of the Decian Persecution) gave occasion more than enough to the recording of it. The Lapsers, I say, applied to the Martyrs and Confessors, as those of greatest credit and esteem (of more than Presbyters themselves), to be mediators between them and the Bishops, and to intercede for a relaxation of the common rules of discipline, and a speedier reconciliation than was allowed by the Canons, and the customary course of penance. The Martyrs and Confessors in many places were prevailed with to make those intercessions ; and particularly at Carthage, being instigated and encouraged thereto by some Presbyters who retained old grudges against St Cyprian's promotion to the Bishopric, which prompted them to give him all the trouble and disturbance they could cunningly contrive, they made them very warmly and with excesses of zeal, if not of humour,

[1] —*Amici Domini*, et cum illo postmodum *judicaturi*—Ep. 15, p. 35.

[2] —Quosdam audio inficere numerum vestrum (Confessorum) et laudem *præcipui nominis* prava sua conversatione destruere—Ep. 13, p. 29.

and were so unreasonable in them, that St Cyprian found it fit to repress them by his episcopal authority. Thus it came to be so fully, and, for showing the non-potestative interest of the people in the government of the Church in that age, so happily recorded. I say, for showing the non-potestative interest of the people, &c. which is thus demonstrated:

LIX.—The Martyrs and Confessors at first sent an humble and dutiful petition in behalf of the Lapsers to St Cyprian the Bishop, then in his retirement, earnestly indeed, but with all due regard to his chair and episcopal authority, beseeching him to dispense with the rigour of the canons, and not to oblige the penitents fully to perform the long and tedious course of satisfactions usual in such cases. So we learn from Ep. 15, written to those Martyrs and Confessors who had addressed to him.[1] But then those of his Presbyters who were blinded with the aforementioned grudge, without so much as waiting his resolution, fall instantly to work, and with unexampled presumption, by their own authority, and without the Bishop's license, reconcile the Lapsers, as it immediately follows in that same Epistle, as you may see on the margin. But withal, you may see that the Bishop, though one of the meekest and humblest men on earth, did not take it pleasantly or digest it easily. On the contrary, he takes it very ill. He takes it as an argument that those Presbyters neither feared God nor regarded the Gospel—that they had forgot their own duty, and abused the Martyrs and Confessors when they had so unaccountably contemned their Bishop. He tells the

[1] Credideram—Presbyteros et Diaconos monere vos (Martyres et Confessores)——sicut in præteritum semper——factum est; ut Diaconi——Martyrum *desideria*——gubernarent: sed nunc cum maximo animi dolore cognosco, non tantum illic vobis non suggeri divina præcepta, sed adhuc potius impediri, ut ea quæ à vobis ipsis et circa Deum cautè, et circa *sacerdotem Dei* honorifice fiunt, à quibusdam Presbyteris resolvantur, qui nec timorem Dei, nec *Episcopi* honorem cogitantes; cum vos ad me literas direxeritis, quibus examinari *desideria* vestra, et quibusdam Lapsis pacem dari *postulatis*, cum persecutione finita convenire in unum cum Clero et recolligi cœperimus; illi contra Evangelii legem, contra vestram quoque honorificam *petitionem*, ante actam pœnitentiam, ante exomologesin gravissimi atque extremi delicti factam, ante manum ab Episcopo et Clero in pœnitentiam impositam, offerre pro illis et Eucharistiam dare, *i. e.* sanctum Domini corpus profanare audeant——Ep. 15, p. 33, 34.

Martyrs and Confessors that his Presbyters ought to have made another use of their *petitions*, and *requests*, or desires, (they are the very words.) " They ought to have reserved them to the Bishop (waited his return), and to a peaceable time," &c. And this he bids the " Martyrs tell those Presbyters and teach *them* their duty, who should have taught them theirs."[1] And not only so, but, Ep. 16, he is at it again, and tells his Presbyters and Deacons, that " those Presbyters who had so presumed had done all amiss; they had forgotten that they were rulers only in subordination; they had exposed the blessed Martyrs to envy; and they had set these glorious servants of God and the Bishop by the ears." Nay, they had been much more extravagant than the Martyrs These being mindful of the Bishop's place or station, " had written to him, *petitioning* that their *desires* or requests might be examined, and the Lapsers might be reconciled indeed, but not before God should restore peace to the Church, and he the Bishop might safely return." But those Presbyters had refused him those regards which the Martyrs and Confessors had paid him; whereas " had the Martyrs *desired* any thing against the law of God, it was the bounden duty of Presbyters and Deacons to have reclaimed them, by teaching them their duty."[2] Nay, he continues in the same fit of resentment in

[1] Vel ex vobis itaque discant, quod docere debuerant. *Petitiones et desideria* vestra *Episcopo servent*, et ad pacem *vobis petentibus* dandam maturum et pacatum tempus expectent. A Domino pacem mater prior sumat, tunc secundum *vestra desideria* de filiorum pace tractetur——ea quæ à vobis *petuntur* religiosa contemplatione moderemini——sed et illud ad diligentiam vestram redigere et emendare debetis, ut nominatim designetis, eos quibus pacem dari *desideratis*——designetis nominatim libello et sic ad nos (ad me Episcopum), fidei ac disciplinæ congruentes literas dirigatis. Ep. 15, p. 34, 35.

[2] ——Erunt autem rei, qui *præsunt*, et hæc fratribus non suggerunt, ut instructi à Præpositis faciant omnia cum Dei timore——Exponunt deinde invidiæ beatos Martyres, et gloriosos Dei servos cum *Dei sacerdote* committunt, ut cum illi memores *loci nostri* ad me literis direxerint, et *petierint*, tunc *desideria sua* examinari et pacem dari, quando ipsa ante mater nostra Ecclesia pacem——prior sumpserit, et *nos* divina protectio reduces——fecerit: Hi (Presbyteri) sublato honore quem nobis beati Martyres cum Confessoribus servant——ante *reditum nostrum*—communicent cum Lapsis——quando etiamsi Martyres——contra legem Dei plus aliquid *cuperent*, à Presbyteris et Diaconis suggerentibus admoneri deberent—Ep. 16, p. 37, 38.

Ep. 17, directed to his people, and repeats over again, that "all the Martyrs and Confessors could do was no more than to *petition*," &c.; and that it "was the duty of Presbyters and Deacons to have taught them so much, and not to have encouraged them to further steps, seeing whatever was more was certainly undutiful."[1] Now that which I take notice of at present is, that it is clear as light that even the Martyrs themselves could not define, could do no more than petition. Indeed,

LX.—What can be clearer, I say, than it is from what hath been said, that the prerogative of the Martyrs was only to petition? But we have not done. Some of the Confessors, or rather a great many of them (perhaps more than had been able to have out-voted St Cyprian and all his clergy, had they had the power of voting), were so far from being calmed or composed by the three mentioned Epistles, that, on the contrary, they raised their crests (being prompted to it by the malcontents of the Presbytery) so high, that they wrote this letter (which I translate as much to their sense as I can) to St Cyprian.—"All the Confessors to Pope Cyprian, greeting. Know that we have given peace to all those (Lapsers), for whose behaviour since their fall an account shall be given to you; and our will is, that this our form (or decree) you communicate to other Bishops. We wish you to continue in communion with the holy Martyrs. Written by Lucianus, two of the Clergy, an Exorcist and a Lector being present."[2] These words [de quibus apud te ratio constiterit, quid post commissum egerint] I have translated as you see, because our Martyr, Ep. 27, directed to the Roman clergy, repeats these very words, and says, "such a clause tended to inflame the grudge against the Bishops, if, when they came to hear and examine the cause of every particular Lapser, they should deny peace (as possibly they might) to many who had already boasted they

[1] Fecerunt ad nos de quibusdam beati Martyres literas, *petentes* examinari *desideria sua*——Ep. 17, p. 39.

[2] Universi Confessores Cypriano Papæ salutem. *Scias* nos universis, de quibus apud te ratio constiterit, quid post commissum egerint, dedisse pacem, et hanc *formam* per te, et aliis Episcopis innotescere voluimus. Optamus te cum sanctis Martyribus pacem habere. Præsente de Clero et Exorcista et Lectore Lucianus scripsit. Ep. 23, p. 49, (Pamel. Ep. 17.)

had got peace from the Martyrs and Confessors,"[1] which makes it clear that neither he nor his fellow-Bishops did as yet know the circumstances of those to whom the Confessors had given their peace; and by consequence, that the verb [constiterit] is to be taken (not in the preterite, but) in the future tense. This form of these Confessors was a thumping one indeed, and had an air as if it had been written by men of no small power, of no mean interest in Church government and discipline. But was there true foundation for such a towering fabric? We may judge of that by what followed upon it.

LXI. — Having received this supercilious letter, our Martyr instantly writes to his Presbyters and Deacons, and tells them he had got it indeed, but then, in the very first sentence, he visibly insinuates "that it had been the duty of those Confessors to have been more humble and deliberate. And he is so far from complying, that he peremptorily commands and charges his Presbyters and Deacons to keep close to the last Epistles he had written to them, which were the 18th and 19th, wherein (as has been already accounted [2]) he had given them orders concerning the Lapsers, and particularly, that they should absolve none of them, no not those for whom the Martyrs had petitioned, unless in peril of death, but oblige all to continue in their satisfactions, till he himself might return, and a Synod of Bishops might be convocated to determine the matter."[3] Next, he gives an account of the aforesaid bold resolution of those Confessors to the Roman Presbyters and Deacons, Ep. 27, wherein he represents the indiscretion and temerity of it, both freely and fully. He tells them it was the contrivance of the Confessor Lucianus, a man of great zeal

[1] Additum est planè: de quibus ratio constiterit, quid post commissum egerint. Quæ res majorem nobis (Episcopis) conflat invidiam, ut nos cum singulorum causas audire, et excutere cœperimus, videamur multis negare, quod se nunc omnes jactant à Martyribus et Confessoribus accepisse. Ep. 27, (Pamel. 23,) p. 52.

[2] *Vide supra*, chap. v. sect. 19, &c.

[3] Dominus dicit: SUPER QUEM RESPICIAM NISI SUPER HUMILEM, ET QUIETUM, ET TREMENTEM SERMONES MEOS?——legi autem et universorum Confessorum literas—quæ res cum omnium nostrum (Episcoporum) consilium et sententiam expectet, præjudicare ego, et solus mihi rem communem vindicare non audeo: et ideo *instetur* interim epistolis quas ad vos proxime feceram—Ep. 26, (Pam. 18,) p. 51.

indeed, but tempered neither with knowledge nor prudence —a man both ignorant and hot-headed, careless of consequences, and regardless of his duty to his Bishop.[1] That divers of the more judicious and moderate Martyrs and Confessors, such as Mappalicus and Saturninus, had no hand in such a petulant Epistle.[2] That such a form (such a presumption rather) tended " to ruin the bond of faith, the fear of God, the authority of our Lord, and the sanctity and stability of the Gospel."[3] That, as hath been already observed, it visibly tended " to load the Bishops with envy, and expose them to popular murmurings." Nay, that it had already produced most deplorable effects. The Lapsers animated thereby, in divers cities had raised mobs, and tumultuated to such an height, that they had manifestly " forced some Bishops to give them peace and grant them absolution." But then he expressly loads those Bishops who had been so prevailed with with the character of faint-hearted, most plainly importing that if they had had the hearts of Bishops, they would not have so ruined discipline upon the account of whatsoever concessions of Confessors or rabbles of Lapsers.[4] These, and divers other things to the same purpose, he has in that Epistle.

LXII.—And with what force of reason does he argue the

[1] ——Frater noster Lucianus et ipse unus de Confessoribus, fide quidem calidus et virtute robustus, sed minus Dominica lectione fundatus—— Lucianus vero circa intelligentiam Dominicæ lectionis, ut dixi, minus peritus, et circa invidiam verecundiæ nostræ relinquendam facilitate sua molestus. Ep. 27, (Pam. 23,) p. 52, 53.

[2] Mappalicus Martyr cautus et verecundus, legis ac disciplinæ memor, nullas contra Evangelium literas fecerit——Saturninus quoque post tormenta adhuc in carcere constitutus, nullas ejusmodi literas emiserit. Ibid. p. 52.

[3] ——Universorum confessorum nomine idem Lucianus Epistolam (hanc nempe de qua nobis modo res est) scripsit, qua pene omne vinculum fidei, et timor Dei, et mandatum Domini, et Evangeli sanctitas et firmitas solveretur. Ibid. p. 52.

[4] Denique hujus seditionis origo jam cœpit: nam in provincia nostra, per aliquot civitates in *Præpositos* impetus per multitudinem factus est, et pacem quam semel cuncti à Martyribus et Confessoribus datam clamitabant, confestim sibi repræsentari coegerunt ; territis et subactis *Præpositis* suis, qui ad resistendum minus virtute animi, et robore fidei prævalebant. Apud nos etiam quidam turbulenti, qui vix à nobis in præteritum regebantur, et in nostram præsentiam differebantur, per hanc Epistolam, vel ut quibusdam facibus accensi, plus exardescere, et pacem sibi datam extorquere cœperunt. Ibid. p. 52, 53.

case in his excellent discourse about the Lapsers, (written the next year, *i. e.* anno 251), which, when he wrote, without question he had the same extravagance of those Confessors in his eye: "We believe, indeed, (says he) that the merits of Martyrs and the works of the just are of great weight with our judge; but then it must be when the day of judgment comes, when at the end of the world Christ's people shall stand before his tribunal—and therefore God's priest (the Bishop) is to do nothing but what is just, but what is lawful, but what is not against our Lord, no, not at the desire of Martyrs. The Bishop's compliance shall be frank and ready, if the *petitioner* observes a religious moderation. When Martyrs desire anything to be done, if what they desire is not written in the law of God, we must first know that they have God's allowance for what they desire, and then their desires may be satisfied. If the Gospel can be evacuated, the Martyrs can do nothing: if it cannot, they can do nothing against the Gospel, seeing it is by the Gospel that they are Martyrs. He can do nothing against Christ, whose hope, faith, courage, and glory, are entirely in Christ. Those who have obeyed the commandments of God (as the Martyrs have done) cannot (in reason) advise the Bishops to do anything against God's commandments—it is only the sincere penitent that can be profited by the *petitions* of Martyrs or the *performances* of Bishops."[1] And a great deal more to this purpose. But to return to the Epistles.

[1] Credimus quidem posse apud judicem plurimum Martyrum merita, et opera justorum; sed cum judicii dies venerit——De Lapsis, p. 129——"Mandant," (*i. e.* petunt ut ex totius sermonis serie constat,) "aliquid Martyres fieri? si justa, si licita, si non contra ipsum Dominum à *Dei sacerdote* (Episcopo) *facienda* sunt; obtemperantis (Episcopi) facilis et prona consensio, si *petentis* fuerit religiosa moderatio. Mandant aliquid Martyres fieri? sed si scripta non sint in Domini lege quæ mandant; ante est ut sciamus illos de Deo impetrasse quod *postulant;* tunc (Episcopo licebit) *facere* quod mandant"——Ibid. p. 129, 130.—Martyres aut nihil possunt, si Evangelium solvi potest; aut si Evangelium non potest solvi, contra Evangelium facere non possunt, qui de Evangelio Martyres fiunt——nec dicere aliquid aut facere contra Christum potest, cujus et spes, et fides, et virtus, et gloria omnis in Christo est. Ut ab *Episcopis* contra mandatum Dei *fiat*, auctores esse non possunt, qui ipsi Dei mandata fecerunt——Ibid. p. 130, 131. Pœnitenti, operanti, roganti potest (Deus) clementer ignoscere, potest in acceptum referre quicquid pro talibus et *petierint* Martyres et *fecerint* sacerdotes——Ibid. p. 138.

LXIII.—From the 27th (the last-mentioned) Epistle, we likewise learn, that the Roman Presbyters and Deacons, and not only so, but also the Martyrs and Confessors of that Church, had the same sentiments with St Cyprian, and were very far from justifying the precipitancies of the Carthaginian Confessors. And our Martyr heartily thanks them for it.[1] And again, he thanks the Roman Martyrs and Confessors, Ep. 28,[2] who over again condemn the rashness of their brethren at Carthage, and encourage him to continue in keeping up the vigour of discipline, Ep. 31;[3] and that on several considerations to be seen at length in that Epistle.[4] As for the Roman Clergy, they expressly call the presumptuous addresses of the Carthaginian Confessors unlawful petitions. They say that their own Martyrs and Confessors were of another mind, and they reason against such petitions upon the same very principles we just now heard our Martyr insisting on in his discourse concerning the Lapsers.[5] This they do, Ep. 30, as you may learn from the margin;[6] and over again, and as plainly and fully, and

[1] Opportune—supervenerunt literæ vestræ, quas accepi ad Clerum factas, item quas beati Confessores Moyses et Maximus, Nicostratus et cæteri; Saturnino et Aurelio, et cæteris (Confessoribus Carthaginiensibus) miserunt, in quibus Evangelii plenus vigor, et disciplina robusta legis Dominicæ continentur. Laborantes hic nos, et contra invidiæ impetum totius fidei viribus resistentes, multum sermo vester adjuvit——quod secundum Evangelii legem stet nobiscum fortiter atque unanimiter etiam vestra sententia—Ep. 27, p. 53.

[2] Accessit ad Confessionis (vestræ,)exordia gloriosa, et militiæ victricis auspicia disciplinæ tenor, quem de Epistolæ vestræ vigore perspeximus, quam modo ad Collegas vestros (Confessores Carthaginienses,) in confessione vobiscum Domino copulatos, sollicita admonitione misistis; ut Evangelii sancta præcepta, et tradita nobis semel mandata vitalia, forti et stabili observatione teneantur. Ep. 28, (Pamel. 25,) p. 54.

[3] —— "Tacere non possumus, quin omni vocis nostræ testimonio prosequamur——te congruente censura——objurgasse—illos qui sine respectu Evangelii sanctum Domini canibus, et Margaritas porcis profana facillitate donassent"——Ep. 31, p. 63. Quibus verbis tam Martyres et Confessores quam Presbyteros perstringi non est quod dubitemus.

[4] Vide Ep. 31, p. 63, 64, 65, fusè. [5] Vide sect. 62.

[6] —Confessorum quoque——literas habeas conspirantes cum literis nostris, quibus severitatem Evangelicæ disciplinæ protulerunt, et *illicitas petitiones* ab Ecclesiæ pudore revocarunt. Nisi hoc fecissent, disciplinæ Evangelicæ ruina non facile sarciretur, præsertim cum nulli magis tam congruens esset tenorem Evangelici vigoris illibatum, dignitatemque servare; quam qui se excruciandos et excarnificandos pro Evangelio furentibus tradidissent, ne martyrii honorem merito perderent, si in occasione martyrii

closely, Ep. 36, as you may likewise learn from their own words on the margin.[1] And not only so, but also,

LXIV.—As the Roman Clergy and Confessors did thus reclaim against the presumption of the Carthaginian, or rather African Confessors, so, generally, the Bishops did not think fit in the least to regard either their forms or their petitions, but to continue the Lapsers in their course of satisfactions, according to the ancient Canons and methods of discipline. St Cyprian tells his Presbyters and Deacons in the first letter he wrote to them after he had received the aforesaid petulant Epistle from Lucianus, in name of all the Confessors, that he had sent copies of Ep. 18 and 19 (the contents whereof have been already accounted for) to many of his *Colleagues*, and that they had written back to him that his resolution (the form he had given to his Presbyters and Deacons) pleased them, and was not to be receded from.[2] And when the persecution relented, and the times were so peaceable that provincial Synods might meet, it was decreed, both in Africa and Rome, by great convocations of

prævaricatores Evangelii esse voluissent: Nam qui quod habet non custodit in eo ex quo illud possidet, dum id ex quo possidet, violat, violat illud quod possidebat. Ep. 30, p. 58.

[1]——"Si aliud quidem Evangelium, aliud autem Martyres dicunt posuisse decretum; collidentes contra Evangelium Martyres, utrobique periclitabuntur,——illud præterea vellemus addiscere, si Martyres non propter aliud Martyres fiunt, nisi ut non sacrificantes; teneant Ecclesiæ usque ad effusionem sanguinis sui *pacem;* ne cruciatus dolore superati perdendo *pacem*, perdant salutem, quam se sacrificassent se habituros non putaverunt; illis existiment donandam, qui sacrificasse dicantur: cum legem hanc debeant in aliis tenere, quam ipsi videbantur sibi ante posuisse? In quo negotio, hoc ipsum, quod pro seipsis facere putaverunt, animadvertimus contra seipsos protulisse. Nam si dandam illis (lapsis) *pacem* Martyres putaverunt, cur ipsi non dederunt? cur illos ad *Episcopum*, ut ipsi dicunt, remittendos censuerunt? Is enim qui jubet fieri, potest utique facere, quod fieri jubet." The sense whereof is plainly this, that the Martyrs and Confessors have no power to give peace to the lapsers; all they can do is to petition the Bishop who has power to do it; (it is Ep. 36, p. 70,) and who is not bound to do it at any requests of Martyrs and Confessors, unless he finds it both reasonable and seasonable, according to that of our Martyr. De Lapsis, p. 130. Adeo non omne quod petitur in præjudicio *petentis*, sed in *dantis* arbitrio est, *i. e.* The petitioner by his petition can lay no necessity on the party petitioned to grant what is petitioned for.

[2] *Instetur*—Epistolis, quas ad vos proximè faceram: quarum exemplum *Collegis* quoque multis jam misi; qui rescripserunt, placere sibi, quod *statuimus*, (en Martyrem nostrum per se statuentem), nec ab eo recedendum esse—Ep. 26, p. 51.

Bishops, that the Lapsers should complete their satisfactions, as has already been shewn in the general.[1] Our Martyr's words to Antonianus are weighty and emphatic; those Synods determined that none of the Lapsers should be rashly reconciled, but that their penances should be drawn out to a great length, &c.[2] I could give a more particular account if it were needful, of divers of the canons then made, and shew thereby how little the (whether petitions or) forms of Martyrs and Confessors were regarded. But methinks what I have said is enough to satisfy any man that all the interest even the Martyrs and Confessors themselves had in Church government and discipline, amounted to no more than petitioning, not at all to voting, which was the thing I undertook for.

LXV.—The conclusion of this argument I have so long insisted on is so obvious, that to name it is more than enough—yet name it I shall—it is, that the people could have no definitive voices in matters of government or discipline in the days of St Cyprian. How could the rest have it when those who were most eminent—those who were most regarded—those who had prerogatives above the rest—had it not? but what needs more? we have plain and clear testimonies in the monuments of that age, that to address, to petition, to pray to the Bishops in matters relating to government and discipline, was all the people could pretend to. The Lapsers wrote a bold and presumptuous letter to our Martyr in a threatening style, as if they had designed to force him to restore them to the Church's peace, as we learn from Ep. 33. Of this letter he forthwith sent an account to the Roman Clergy, Ep. 35, who in their answer to him, Ep. 36, have this reflection on it, "that the letters of the Lapsers had been much more becoming if the *prayers* of the *stantes*, the intercessions of the faithful for them, had been backed with humility in them, because that

[1] *Supra*, cap. v. sec. 19; cap. vii. sec. 61.

[2] Persecutione sopita——copiosus Episcoporum numerus——in unum convenimus——et temperamentum—libravimus ut nec in totum spes communicationis et pacis lapsis denegaretur; ne plus desperatione deficerent ——nec tamen rursus censura Evangelica solveretur, ut ad communicationem temere prosilirent; sed traheretur diu pœnitentia, et rogaretur dolenter paterna clementia, et examinarentur causæ, et voluntates, et necessitates singulorum—Ep. 55, p. 102, 103.

which is asked is the more easily obtained when he for whom it is asked or petitioned for is worthy that that which is asked should be obtained."[1] Here it is of the *stantes* indefinitely, that is, of all those of the people who were not Lapsers. And Cornelius tells Fabius, Bishop of Antioch, that he and his Colleagues about Rome had taken off the sentence of excommunication from off one of the three Bishops who ordained Novatianus, and restored him to lay communion, because all the people besought, entreated, and prayed (not at all voted) that it might be done.[2] And St Cyprian, and other sixty-six Bishops with him, in a Synodical Epistle written to Fidus, make it one aggravation of Bishop Therapius his error in the precipitant absolution of Victor, a Presbyter who had lapsed, that he had done it when there was no *petition* of the people for it.[3] It had so entirely proceeded from himself, that he had not been so much as importuned to it.

LVI.—Such was the interest of the people in matters of Church government. Why then (perhaps some may ask) so much noise in those times about the people? Why all the people so often mentioned as being present? as being judges? as being consulted? &c. was this all the *mutuus honor* amounted to? For answer, in short, whatever interest the people had besides petitioning, was without doubt short of authoritative defining. No shadow of an evidence of any such power lodged in the people in the monuments of that age. And it requires no great depth of thinking to come by a plain and just understanding of whatever interest they had. The Bishops of those times, upon many prudential considerations, some perhaps common to all ages, others peculiar to their own times and circumstances, were willing to give all proper and reasonable satisfaction

[1] Quanto meliores ipsorum literæ fuissent, si pro ipsis *preces stantium* humilitate ipsorum adjutæ fuissent, quoniam et facilius impetratur, quod *petitur*, quando is pro quo *petitur*, condignus est, ut quod *petitur*, impetretur. Ep. 36, p. 71.

[2] —ᾧ καὶ ἐκοινωνήσαμεν λαϊκῷ, ὑπερ αὐτοῦ δεηθέντος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ. Apud Euseb. Lib. 6, cap. 35.

[3] Quæ res nos satis movit, secessum esse à decreti nostri auctoritate, ut ante legitimum et plenum tempus satisfactionis, et sine *petitu* et conscientia plebis, nulla infirmitate urgente, ac necessitate cogente, pax ei (Victori à Therapio Episcopo,) concederetur. Ep. 64, (Pamel. 59,) p. 158.

to the people, concerning sometimes the necessity, sometimes the expediency, always the equity of whatever resolutions they took, or orders they appointed, or methods they chose, or decrees they made, or canons they enacted, or sentences they formed, or censures they inflicted ; in a word of their whole administration of the government. Nay, it is very credible that they were very tender of doing anything that might cross the people's inclinations. It is credible they seldom or never did it but when the people were notoriously unreasonable. They were willing, and it was their wisdom to live in concord and good correspondence with the people ; not to offend them, not to provoke them, not to embitter them. Whatever allowances, therefore, could consist with the honour and deference due to paternal authority, they were willing to grant to the people. But it was very well consistent with the honour and regards due to such authority, that as many of the people as pleased, and was convenient, should be present even in Provincial Councils, to be witnesses of what was done in them. It was no ways inconsistent with the interests and exigencies of authority, even to allow such of the people as pretended to have them, to propose reasonable overtures or reasonable objections. It was in many cases necessary that from the people they should receive informations and testimonies concerning matters of fact. I do not pretend to be able to reckon up all the possible congruities there might have been for allowing as many of the people as pleased to be present. Though I could, I am sure it is not necessary. For, from what I have hinted at, it may be easy to account for all the interests mentioned in the Cyprianic monuments as belonging to the people, without allowing them the unaccountable interest of a definitive voice, of a potestative authority. To be allowed to give advice is one thing, and to define is another. There is a great difference between debating and determining. And if the people were allowed to be present, they could not be hindered to judge unless their natures had been changed, it being natural to men, as they are men, to have their own judgment of every thing that comes to their knowledge. But to *judge as a man*, and to judge as a *man in authority*, are very different things. And when a public authorized judge, a judge sovereign, or a judge by

commission, pronounces public and authoritative judgment agreeably to the private judgments of those that are present, he judges according to their arbitriment, that is, he judges as they themselves, following their light, would have judged, had they been in his circumstances. By this time I think all contained in the objection is sufficiently accounted for except one thing, or rather one phrase.

LXVII.—It is that phrase so much insisted on, [*sicut mutuus honor possit,*] as mutual honour requires. I have already shewn that the people had as great interest in this mutual honour as Presbyters. That which I am concerned for now is, that it doth not, cannot import that the people had the prerogative of a definitive voice in Provincial Synods. I say in Provincial Synods, for that St Cyprian had a Provincial Synod in his eye when he wrote the sentence whereof this phrase is a part, is clear as light. "When by God's grace, I shall come to you (return to Carthage), then, as mutual honour requires, we shall in common consider both what has been, and what is to be done,"[1] viz. concerning the Lapsers. The phrase of *considering in common*, is his ordinary phrase concerning Provincial Synods, and it was all along to such Synods that he referred the determination of the case of the Lapsers, as hath been already cleared beyond controversy.[2] But if it was with regard to their interest in a Provincial Synod that this phrase was usurped by our Martyr, then, to be sure, it was not the honour of a definitive suffrage. What I have discoursed makes that more than incredible; what is it then? The great Mr Hooker has rendered it pretty appositely.—"Sicut mutuus honor possit," says he, *i. e.* "As the law of courtesie, which one doth owe to another of us, requireth."[3] As many of the people as pleased were courteously allowed by the Bishops to be present, and witnesses of what passed in Synods. And the foot on which this courteous retribution of respect or regard was founded, was not any *divine institution*, no reference to any such institution made any-

[1] —Cum ad vos per Dei gratiam venero, tunc de iis quæ vel gesta sunt, vel gerenda, sicut honor mutuus possit, in commune tractabimus. Ep. 14, p. 33.

[2] *Supra*, sect. 17.

[3] Eccles. Polit. Lib. 7, p. 346. Ed. Dublin, 1721.

where by our Martyr, or any of his contemporaries. No such institution can be produced. It was a *prudential concession of an honorary privilege* to the people, *pro fide et timore suo*, as our Martyr words it, for their continuing unshaken in their profession of the faith, and in the fear of God.

LXVIII.—I say as many of the people as pleased, that is, there was none of the *stantes laici* had any especial privilege in this matter. No one had more right to be present than another; no one was excluded from this honour more than another. Dionysius the Great, Bishop of Alexandria, St Cyprian's contemporary, has expressed it fully and plainly, when he tells that upon a certain occasion, being in a certain place, where a certain controversy was very warmly agitated, so warmly as to make schisms, &c.; for the settlement thereof he convocated the Presbyters and teachers of the brethren who lived in the neighbouring villages, as many of the brethren (the laity) as would being present.[1] So likewise in the great Synod of Carthage, anno 256, consisting of eighty-seven Bishops, frequently mentioned above, it is not said that all the people were present; but [*præsente etiam plebis maxima parte.*] And even as it is worded, it is to be understood with a reasonable allowance of latitude. The word [*maxima,*] though it have the form of the superlative, yet without doubt has only the signification of the positive degree. The phrase doth not import that either almost all, or the greatest part of the faithful of eighty-seven dioceses were present. That I have already shown to be utterly incredible. No more therefore is meant than that there was a goodly congregation of the people there; and a goodly congregation there might have been, though none there but of the Diocese of Carthage, nay, though not the tenth man of that neither. And

LXIX.—As not all, but so many of the *people* as would, and could conveniently, were present in Provincial Synods, so certainly it was as to Presbyters and Deacons. Who can imagine that all the Presbyters and Deacons of the eighty-seven dioceses, as well as the Bishops, were congregated in Carthage on that occasion? What had become of

[1] Παρόντων καὶ τῶν βουλομένων Ἀδελφῶν. Apud Euseb. H. E. L. 7. c. 18.

the service of the Church and the public worship of God at home? Neither is there the least intimation of any authorized by commission to represent Presbyters in Provincial Synods in any monuments of that age. Every Presbytery, or rather every Diocesan Church, was represented by its Bishop. Neither this by virtue of any commission from either Presbytery or people, but in his own right; and as the person clothed with all the prerogatives accounted for in the preceding Chapter. But there is no need of insisting largely here. There is one of our Martyr's Epistles which is sufficient to clear the whole matter.

LXX.—When Cornelius was promoted to the Bishopric of Rome, according to the custom, he forthwith gave an account thereof to all other Bishops, that they might know by whom the see was filled, and to whom thereafter they were to direct their communicatory letters, &c. But he had a clamorous competitor, Novatianus, who was as busy as he could (and none can be more busy than schismatics) to make as big pretensions to the Roman Bishopric. Hereupon an African Synod was convocated, wherein resolved that two of their number, Caldonius and Fortunatus, should be sent to Rome to enquire into the competition, and distinctly learn whether Cornelius or Novatianus was the true Bishop, and that till their return neither should be written to as Bishop of Rome, but all letters, as formerly, during the vacancy of the see, should be directed for the Presbyters and Deacons. The Presbyters of Adrumetum, ignorant of the competition at Rome, ignorant of what had been resolved upon in the African Synod, in the absence of their own Bishop, Polycarpus, write a letter to Cornelius as Bishop of Rome, thereby owning his title; shortly thereafter St Cyprian and his colleague, Liberalis, having occasion to be at Adrumetum, acquaint the Presbyters and Deacons of that Church with both the competition at Rome, and the resolution of the African Synod. Hereupon, the next letter they send to Rome is directed (not as the former to Cornelius, but as during the vacancy) to the Roman Presbyters and Deacons. This offends Cornelius, and knowing it was St Cyprian who had made them alter their style and direction, he challenges him for it. St Cyprian, to satisfy Cornelius, writes back to

him, deducing the matter as I have represented it.[1] Now, that which I observe is, that none of the Presbyters nor Deacons of the Church of Adrumetum had been present in the African Synod. Had either all of them been there, or any one, or two, or three, with commission to represent the rest, how could they all have been ignorant of such a singular and remarkable resolution of the Synod? But what needs more? Our Martyr manifestly imputes their ignorance to the absence of their Bishop Polycarpus; clearly importing that the Bishops only, and none of the Presbyters nor Deacons of remote dioceses (such as Adrumetum was, yet not so remote as many others,) used to come to the Provincial Synods, which were commonly holden in Carthage. The Bishop of any diocese was sufficient to represent it in the Synod. And if he was absent his clergy were ignorant of what passed till otherwise informed. Whatsoever Presbyters therefore, or Deacons, were present in such Synods, were only those of Carthage or the next neighbourhood; few or none (unless they had particular business) from the remoter dioceses. Neither any need of those who were present for any interest they had in Synodical definitions, for any right they had to define more than the people.

LXXI.—Thus I have somewhat fully (and as I think clearly) shewn, that the people, in the days of St Cyprian, had no authoritative or potestative interest, no power of defining in Provincial Synods, and have thereby (as I take it) not only overthrown the foundations of independency, at least as to that age, but also weakened, if not quite evacuated the force of Mr Blondel's laboriously collected discourse,

[1] Legi literas tuas—in quibus te comperi motum, quod cum de Adrumetina Colonia, Polycarpi nomine *ad te* literæ dirigerentur, posteaquam nos, ego et Liberalis in eundem locum venissemus, cœpissent illuc ad Presbyteros et Diaconos literæ dirigi. Quod, scire te volumus et pro certo credere, nulla id levitate aut contumelia factum. Sed cum statuissemus Collegæ complures, qui in unum conveneramus, ut legatis ad vos coepiscopis nostris Caldonio et Fortunato missis, omnia interim integra suspenderentur; donec ad nos iidem Collegæ nostri rebus illic aut ad pacem redactis, aut pro veritate compertis, redirent. Presbyteri et Diaconi in Adrumetina consistentes, Polycarpo coepiscopo nostro absente, ignorabant quid nobis in commune placuisset. At ubi nos in præsentiam venimus, comperto consilio nostro (Synodico) ipsi quoque, quod et cæteri, observare cœperunt, ut in nullo Ecclesiarum istic consistentium consensio discreparet. Ep. 48, (Pamel. 45,) p. 90, 91.

"Concerning the Right of the People in the Government of the Church." I am confident I have entirely disabled it as to the Cyprianic age, an age he lays as much stress on as any.[1] I have likewise shewn that Presbyters, as to a definitive voice in Provincial Synods, had no more right than the people. It remains then that Bishops, and Bishops alone, were definers in such Synods; and by consequence, had the sole power of legislation, of making canons with regard to provinces. Much more might have been said of it, but what needs more? Blondel himself (than whom no author more unwilling to grant any prerogatives to primitive Bishops which he thought could be colourably kept from them) is forced to confess that in all those Councils, the records whereof are extant for the first 800 years, (some few obscure ones excepted, whereof none within a century and a half of the Cyprianic age,) Bishops alone did sit and define, and never so much as one Presbyter, unless by the mandate, and in name of his Bishop.[2] And so much for the interest of Bishops in Provincial Councils in the days of St Cyprian.

LXXII.—General Councils (if ever there were any properly such) there were none neither in the Cyprianic nor the preceding age, nor for more than sixty years after the death of our Martyr. Whatever canons therefore, or customs were in force all the Catholic Church over, had either descended from the Apostles, or had had their rise from Provincial Synods or epistolary correspondence. So that it must be obvious to collect from what hath been discoursed, how much such canons or customs depended on the sovereign power of Bishops, and how little on the power of either Presbyters or people.

LXXIII.—I should now proceed to the power of jurisdiction, the executive power, and shew what a sovereign in-

[1] Vide "De Jure Plebis," &c. Edit. Amstelod. anno 1677, p. 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278.

[2] In universis quorum nunc regulas habemus, (si forte Antisiodorense Gallorum, Becanceldense Anglorum, Romanaque aliquot sub Hilario, Felice Tertio, Gelasio, Symmacho, Gregorio Primo, Agathone, Gregorio Tertio, Zacharia, &c. excipias,) ad annum octingentesimum. Congregatis conciliis, Episcopi fere soli et sederunt et decreverunt, nec ullus nisi Antistitis sui mandato ac nomine Presbyter interfuit. Apol. pro Sent. Hieron. p. 177, 178.

terest, by the principles of the Cyprianic age, the Bishop had in it. And here it were easy to insist very largely. I might resume all the acts I pursued in the "Principles of the Cyprianic Age," and not only vindicate them from the little exceptions of G[ilbert] R[ule] but farther confirm them—I might likewise insist on a great many more—particularly, I might shew that Bishops only were judges of Bishops, and with reason too, seeing they made an order superior to all other orders, and were combined in a College different from all other Colleges. I had once indeed resolved to show that every Bishop, within his own diocese, had the sovereign power of enjoining penances, and granting indulgences, and reconciling or absolving penitents, &c. And I remember I have made some references to this place where I designed to represent these things fully. But now, when I consider that these things are so obviously colligible from what hath been discoursed, and withal, that this work has already swelled to a bulk very much greater than at first I projected, I ask leave to forbear the prosecution of all these at present; in the mean time, hereby giving my word to G[ilbert] R[ule] or any of his brethren that, with God's allowance and assistance, I shall give them what may satisfy them on any of the points named when they shall put me to it. And now,

LXXIV.—That I may bring this final overthrow of [Gilbert] R[ule]'s main subterfuge to something like an handsome conclusion, I will adventure to do it with a syllogism. The reason this—After, by divers considerations, I had made it (as I thought, and do still think,) demonstratively to appear that by the principles of the Cyprianic age every Bishop was the principle of unity to his own Church,[1] I added in the last place, that such a principle was most reasonable and accountable, from principles I had before laid down.[2] At this G[ilbert] R[ule] falls into an odd fit of vapouring. He says "he is willing that the whole controversy between us be hanged on this pin."[3] I think I have as good reason to be confident as he has; but I will not be so rash as to hang the whole controversy on any one pin, or drown it in any one ditch. My side of it hangs (I

[1] Prin. Cyp. Age, p. 34 ad 36. [2] *Ibid.* p. 37, &c.
[3] Cyp. Bish. Exd. sect. 32, p. 41.

think,) on so many strong pins, that it might be firm and fixed enough, though I should, for peace, forbear to contend with him for more than one of them.

LXXV.—He would have his reader fancy that I had entertained the extravagant conceit, that it was necessary, that in every society there should be one singular person who should be its principle of unity—the maggot that there can be no form of government but monarchy, and that aristocracy or democracy are impossible ;[1] whereas, as there was no such thing in my head, so neither was there any shadow of it in my argument. Neither is this all. My argument was naught. There were no fewer than three premises expressed, and a fourth necessarily understood, before one could come to the conclusion which every logician will condemn.[2] Now, good material reasoning was all I aimed at. I was neither thinking on *barbara's* nor *bocardo's*.[3] And what though such a school boy (as I am,) who had never been Regent, Sub-principal, nor Principal in any college of philosophy, had been a little shy to engage about syllogistic forms with G[ilbert] R[ule] who had so remarkably adorned all these stations—a man armed these fifty years *cap à pie* with moods and figures. However, seeing he is so keen upon the scent of syllogism, here is one for him.

He who, in any particular Church, had all the powers accounted for above, Chap. v, and all the prerogatives accounted for, Chap. vi, and could perform all the sovereign acts of government accounted for or named in this vii. Chap.—him it was most reasonable and accountable to look upon as the principle of unity to that particular Church.

But by the principles of the Cyprianic age, in every particular Church the Bishop had all the powers accounted for above, Chap. v, and all the prerogatives accounted for, Chap. vi, and could perform all the sovereign acts of government accounted for or named in this vii. Chap.

Ergo, by the principles of the Cyprianic age, it was most reasonable and accountable to look upon the Bishop as the principle of unity to that particular Church whereof he was Bishop.

[1] Cyp. Bp. Exd. p. 42. [2] *Ibid.* p. 41, 42.
[3] [Technical terms in Logic.—E.]

CHAPTER VIII.

G[ILBERT] R[ULE]'S THIRD MAIN SUBTERFUGE STATED AND DEFEATED.

Sect. I. THOUGH I do not intend to insist long on this subterfuge, yet I am here (as always,) to deal honestly with both G[ilbert] R[ule] and my reader. I will therefore give an account of it in G[ilbert] R[ule]'s own words, only interweaving, as it is proper, the occasions of his having recourse to it. I had proved sufficiently (and have now[1] done it more fully) that it was a received principle in St Cyprian's time that there could be but one Bishop at once in a Church; and concluded from it that a Bishop was something other, and something more than a single Presbyter; because, *e. g.* in those days the Church of Rome was but one Church, and the Church of Carthage another; and yet in each of these Churches there were many single Presbyters.[2] To this G[ilbert] R[ule] returns four answers; but it is only the fourth I am at present concerned in. It is "that there might be a plurality of Presbyters in a particular congregation—not only Presbyters that were only ruling, but preachers also; for it is observed by some, (says he,) that in the primitive times they ordained many more preaching Presbyters in Churches than they had present work for." And for this having cited Mr Clerkson, he proceeds thus:—"It is probable *(N. B.)* that then the Christians having no universities, the Churches—especially in great cities or where were learned Bishops—were Colleges for breeding men to the ministry, and that when they were ripe, they ordained and employed them, that so they might be seminaries out of which vacant parishes might be provided; and if any say

[1] *Supra*, cap. 6, sect. 17.

[2] Prin. Cyp. Age, p. 12, 13, 20.

that the Bishops had such authority over these Presbyters as our professors of divinity have over the students, it may pass *(N.B.)* for a probable conjecture; only these were ordained, our's we do not ordain till we fix them in Churches."[1] I am not at leisure to animadvert on this discourse as it furnishes occasions. All I consider is, that here you have a tripartite distinction of Presbyters; two sorts expressly named, ruling elders, and a certain kind of unfixed ones, without charges, and the third sort, viz. fixed Presbyters, having charges, *i. e.* parish ministers, under the name of Bishops. Only note here that there were three other shadows (if so much as shadows) of answers, so that the whole stress was not to lie on this goodly tripartite distinction. And therefore it is only probable there were Presbyters of the second sort, and we are only desired to let it pass for a probable conjecture, that parish ministers had some authority over those unfixed Presbyters.

II.—What cannot courage do, when hard put to it? The matter is, I had affirmed, and proved too, that the Bishops in St Cyprian's time had such a sovereign power, that Presbyters could neither baptize nor administer the Eucharist without their allowance.[2] And there was no way to avoid the force of my arguments, but by improving probabilities into certainties, and conjectures into solid foundations; and therefore it is done. Take his own words.—" For a foundation to our answer to all his discourse on this head, I shall remind the reader of a distinction above-mentioned. They were, in St Cyprian's time, of three sorts. 1. The ruling elders who were no preachers, and who with the Bishop (or parish minister) and other preaching Presbyters, (if there were any,) made up the consistory by which the affairs of the congregation were managed. These, I confess, could administer no sacrament, neither without, nor with the Bishop's license. 2. There were in some Churches (especially in great cities,) some Presbyters who were ordained to the work of the ministry, but had no particular charge, and were as our probationers or students in divinity schools, (only with this difference, that our's are not ordained,) these might not baptize, nor administer the Eucha-

[1] Cyp. Bish. Exd. sect. 24, p. 29.
[2] Prin. Cyp. Age, p. 64, 65, &c.

rist, yea, nor preach without the allowance of the Bishop or parish minister; and it is so also among us; if some ordained ministers happen to live in a parish, whereof they are not pastors, (as sometimes falleth out in great cities,) it is disorderly for them to exercise their ministry within another man's charge, without his call or allowance. These Presbyters in Cyprian's time were in some things like Evangelists, whom the Bishops employed, when themselves could not overtake all their work. And if these be called the Bishop's curates, as our author doth all Presbyters,"(for this I have already[1] accounted,) "I shall not much reclaim. 3. A third sort of Presbyters were the ministers of the several parishes," &c.[2] Thus you have again our tripartite distinction of Presbyters, *sine formidine*, without weakening its virtues by such cowardly concomitants as *probabilities* or *probable conjectures*. And now what can it not outface? It sweeps Tertullian's famous testimony so often mentioned before, *(dandi quidem jus, &c.)* clean off the stage,[3] and Dionysius's too.[4] Nay, all my arguments for proving that in St Cyprian's time all the Church governors within any Bishop's district, Presbyters as well as others, were subject to his authority, and obnoxious to his discipline[5]—all these arguments, I say, must vanish into nothing upon its very appearance.[6] And lastly, what though St Cyprian was shy sometimes to call *Presbyters* his *Colleagues?* for "if it be understood of Presbyters without a charge, there is reason for it," &c.[7]

III.—How lucky is the wight that is so girded for his work, that has such a powerful distinction at command upon so many important occasions! But to our task. How is the distinction founded? what ground doth it stand on? Let us briefly try it as to two of its members—the unfixed Presbyters and the ruling elders; for I have already

[1] *Supra*, cap. 11, sect. 21. [2] Cyp. Bish. Exd. p. 70, 71, sect. 48.

[3] See Tertullian's testimony above, and G[ilbert] R[ule]'s application of his distinction to it in his "Cyp. Bp. Examined," sect. 49, p. 72.

[4] See Dionysius of Alexandria's testimony.—Prin. Cyp. Age, p. 60; and how the distinction takes it away. Cyp. Bp. Exam. sect. 50, p. 73.

[5] See my arguments, Prin. Cyp. Age, p. 87, 88, 89, &c. &c.

[6] See how G[ilbert] R[ule]'s distinction comes up to them, Cyp. Bp. Exam. sect. 56, p. 84.

[7] See Cyp. Bp. Exam. sect. 62, p. 94.

shewn that no simple Presbyter, fixed or unfixed, was ever called a Bishop in the days of St Cyprian, so that his third member is already ruined; and though it had escaped, the distinction can be in no good condition, if, consisting only of three members, two of them shall be sent packing.

IV.—I. Then begin we with his unfixed Presbyters, those who were in orders, and could preach, and administer sacraments, but had no charges, &c. Has he proved there were any such in St Cyprian's time? Not so much as attempted to do it? What then? Referred me to Paul Bayn's "Diocesan's Trial," p. 63, and thither I have gone, but what have I learned? Two things. 1. To admire G[ilbert] R[ule]'s skill in it, for Paul Bayn's Presbyters over whom he gives Bishops some power, are not at all G[ilbert] R[ule]'s unfixed ones. They are a kind of Presbyters, who, he says, "were numbered amongst the Bishop's clerics, and were helps to him in the Liturgy in chapels and parishes which did depend on him as their proper teacher."—A "corruption" he takes "them to have been of governing Presbyters, (ruling elders who use not to be ordained by any men *ad ministerium vagum,*) who came to be made a human ministry (you have his words as his book affords them). 1. By having singular acts permitted. 2. By being consecrate to this, and so doing *ex officio* what they were employed in by the Bishop. They were but helps (again) to the Liturgy, according to the Canons. Preaching did not agree to them farther than it could be delegated or permitted. Finally we read (continues he) that by law it was permitted them; that it was taken away from them again by the Bishops; that it was stinted and limited sometime as to the opening of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments." Thus he describes them, p. 61; and then p. 63, he says again, "that they were part of the Bishop's clerics, in a great measure subject to him, absolutely in a manner for their direction. ——They lived under his conduct a collegiate life together. *Eodem refectorio et dormitorio utebantur, et canonice viventes ab Episcopo instruebantur.* Now when all such clerics did live then as members of a college under a master, it is no wonder if they be called headless who did belong to no Bishop," &c. This is Paul Bayn's account. A pretty obscure one indeed, and of a pretty odd sort of Presbyters.

However, so obviously, as well as vastly different from G[ilbert] R[ule]'s, that any ordinary reader, without any help, may easily observe that they were not one and the same. But this is not all. I have learnt, 2. That unless you take the above written Latin sentence (which for anything I know may have been his own, for he names no author for it,) for sufficient proof, Paul Bayn has been even as regardless of proving as G[ilbert] R[ule] himself; so that though their Presbyters had been one and the same, one was never a whit the wiser for being referred to Paul Bayn, than he shall be who, next generation, shall be referred to G[ilbert] R[ule]. In short,

V.—As G[ilbert] R[ule]'s unfixed Presbyters, as he has described them, are not to be found in Paul Bayn's "Diocesan Trials," so neither are they in any monument of the Cyprianic age (nor of any age for anything I know,) neither show nor shadow of them. And though he had found them there, or shall find them hereafter, they can stand him in no stead, so long as it is certain that the Bishops of that age had a real, true, proper superiority over Presbyters that were as much fixed as it is possible for Presbyters to be. Were not those the fixed Presbyters of the Church of Rome who governed the Church of Rome—who not only taught the people and administered the sacraments to them, but managed the discipline during those fifteen or sixteen months of the vacancy of the Episcopal Chair of Rome between the death of Fabianus and the ordination of Cornelius? And not only so, but continued, forty-six of them, as office-bearers of the Church of Rome after he was made Bishop. Had not Novatianus (even by Blondel's own reckoning,) been ten years a Presbyter of the Church of Rome before he set up for Bishop of it? Had he been all that time unfixed? Had not Maximus been a fixed Presbyter of that Church, who after he deserted Novatianus and returned to the unity of the Church, was commanded to take his place again in the Presbytery? Were they not all fixed Presbyters of the Church of Rome who were called of the Clergy of Rome, and sat every day with the Bishop, and assisted him in the hearing of causes, in the management of the whole government and discipline in its ordinary course? Was there not a number of fixed Presbyters at Carthage,

when St Cyprian, probably the youngest, was chosen Bishop, to the great provocation of those who, by reason of their having been Presbyters of that Church long before him, thought they ought rather to have been preferred? Were they not fixed Presbyters of that Church who, as the fixed Presbyters thereof, sometimes managed, sometimes mismanaged the government of it during the two years of his secession? Who but fixed Presbyters made up the Presbytery of Carthage before the Decian persecution? Was it not a society of fixed Presbyters which was desolated in the days of that persecution? Was not Numidicus joined as a fixed Presbyter to the Presbytery of Carthage to make up its desolation? Who but fixed Presbyters made up the *consessus* in every Church? Were the Presbyters more unfixed than the Deacons, the Sub-Deacons, the Lectors, the Acolyths, the Ostiarii, any of the rest of the clergy? How easy were it to weary myself, and my reader both, with invincible arguments to this purpose? But I have given enough in a case so indisputable. Now these, even these very same Presbyters, Priests, Administrators of Sacraments, who were thus fixed in those respective Churches, as much the fixed Presbyters as the Bishops themselves were the fixed Bishops of them—these, I say, were the Presbyters, who were not Colleagues, but subordinate officers to their Bishops; who were subject to their Bishops and obnoxious to their discipline; who could neither baptize nor consecrate the Eucharist without their Bishop's allowance. And so much for G[ilbert] R[ule]'s unfixed Presbyters. Come we next

VI.—II. To his ruling elders, an order of Church governors contradistinguished from Pastors—from Presbyters that have authority to preach and administer Sacraments. Here G[ilbert] R[ule] has appeared with more than ordinary keenness; but I had given him provocation—I had said there was as profound a silence about such ruling elders in St Cyprian's works and time, as of the Solemn League and Covenant or the Sanquhar Declaration.[1] This made G[ilbert] R[ule] buckle himself for the controversy, and begin it with the following bravado:—"That this my sarcasm against ruling elders sheweth more of my spite against that Church office than of my skill to refute it."[2]

[1] Prin. Cyp. Age, p. 11. [2] Cyp. Bp. Exam. sect. 14, p. 18.

And "it might have been expected from this peremptory confidence that I should have attempted a refutation of what many learned men have written on that subject, if I looked into that controversy."[1] Well! Here I think is confidence for confidence, and sound beating for a sooth-bourd spoken in jest—a sooth-bourd I say, for after all, G[ilbert] R[ule] has not adventured to bring so much as one testimony from St Cyprian for his ruling elders. But to go on with him. "The London ministers (whom I cited) could have taught me at least to speak more soberly."[2] Whatever they could have done, they taught me no such thing in all "Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici," which was their book I cited. There, indeed, with very much reason on their side, they rejected the Divine right of popular elections of Pastors;[3] that was all I cited them for; nor do I remember that anywhere in all the book they engage in the controversy about ruling elders. There was no place for it, seeing they were the Independents they were grappling with.

VII.—But "Blondel, 'De Jure Plebis,' and Smectymnuus, and L'Arroque, and Calvin, and Peter Martyr, and many later writers, had I looked into them, would have taught me more sobriety."[4] I have seen most of all these, all except L'Arroque; and I have seen Beza, Zepperus, Gersom Bucer, "Altare Damascenum, the Assertion of the Government of the Church of Scotland," and I do not know how many more; and yet I am just where I was. And I must tell G[ilbert] R[ule] I am mistaken if he may not find as many of his friends (I mean Presbyterians) against, as for the Divine right of the order of ruling elders. Sure I am, Chamier, Salmasius, Blondel, Ludovicus Capellus, Moyses Amiraldus, and many others, are against it. The whole tribe of the Belgic remonstrants (keen parity men) are against it in their Confession of Faith; and I hope G[ilbert] R[ule] needs not be told how little interest such elders had in the Protestant Consistories of France. Mr Baxter, in his "Preface to his Five Disputations of Church Government,"[5] says expressly, "that as far as he could understand, the greater part, if not three for one of the English (Presbyterian) ministers were as far against lay elders as any

[1] Cyp. Bp. Exd. sect. 15, p. 19. [2] Ibid. [3] Chap. 8.
[4] Cyp. Bp. Exd. sect. 15, p. 19. [5] P. 4.

Prelatist of them all." He confesses himself to be one, and he cites Mr Vines for another; but I must forbear excursions, for all my design at present is to attend G[ilbert] R[ule], and make brief observes on the proofs he has adduced for the establishment of the worshipful order.

VIII.—And in the first place, G[ilbert] R[ule] and I are not like to agree about Blondel. G[ilbert] R[ule] refers me to his book "De Jure Plebis in Regimine Ecclesiastico," as wherein the order of ruling elders is established. I refer G[ilbert] R[ule] back again to that very same book, as wherein the order is fully and industriously overthrown. Blondel appears in it with all his might for the interest of the whole people, the "Universa Plebs"—with what success, as to the Cyprianic age, has been already considered; but he applies himself downright to disprove the Divine institution of the order of ruling elders. His main scope obliged him to it; for if the "Plebs Universa"—all and every one of the people—have, by Divine right, such an interest in the government of the Church as he pleads for, how had it been accountable that likewise by Divine right there should have been a certain order of men set apart to represent the people? sensible of this, I say, Blondel says plainly "he finds no mention made of other elders besides Pastors meddling in Church government before Constantine's time; and them he does not at all allow to be of the Clergy.[1] He maintains zealously, fully, and solidly, that that text, 1. Tim. v. 17, doth not at all make for such an order;[2] and he laughs heartily at Gersom Bucer for so voluminously maintaining such an unfounded order."[3] So happy has G[ilbert] R[ule] been at citing patrons for his order of ruling elders.

IX.—But at least I might have had some regard to Archbishop Whitgift, a zealous pleader for Prelacy, who grants "that in the Primitive Church they had in every Church

[1] Sub Constantino——Nova rerum facies apparuit; non tamen fraternitatis conditio deterior facta est——Seniores suos habuit, à Clero diversos, qui fidelis plebis nomine, regiminis quascunque partes suo ordine ac modo attingerent, p. 27 of edit. Amstelodami, anno 1677, et rursus, p. 313, plura huc facientia videre est. [2] P. 306, 307, 308, 309.

[3] Ad ravim usque vir pius——Bucerus inclamet——sed ut ipse se non modo falsa, sed et compugnantia loqui sentiat—P. 308.—[The above quotations from Blondel are correct according to the copy of the Treatise before me, which is without a title-page. But the reference to the pages is certainly wrong, there being only 96 pages in all.—E.]

certain Seniors, to whom the government of the congregation was committed, &c."[1] But, 1. Why should I have more regard to him concerning ruling elders, than G[ilbert] R[ule] to Blondel, Salmasius, and twenty more of his ablest friends, concerning ruling elders ?—concerning constant Moderators ?—concerning Episcopacy's being the government of the Church in St Cyprian's time ?—concerning I cannot tell how many more things about which he dissents from them ? 2. Wherein have I shewn any disrespect to Whitgift in this matter ?—hath he anywhere affirmed that there was such an order of Divine right, or in St Cyprian's time or writings ? 3. What though he has the words cited by G[ilbert] R[ule], as I grant he has them ?[2] Is it not evident as light to any who reads the whole Tractate wherein he has them, that he had no other ground for saying so but the testimony of the pseudo-Ambrose, in his Commentary on 1. Tim. v. 1, not 17 ; so that had it not been for that testimony, we had never had such words from him, and by consequence, that his words ought to be deemed of no greater weight than the testimony whereon they are founded ? But this is not all, for, 4. G[ilbert] R[ule] shall never make it appear that Whitgift acknowledged an order of such elders of Divine institution or Catholic acceptation. Whitgift most punctually and minutely deprives the order of all shadow of subsistence in any of the texts of Scripture adduced for it by the authors of the "Admonition," and he does it over and over.[3] But what needs more ? Take his own words concerning the worshipful order—"Pastors be necessary in the Church of Christ—so be not Seniors. The office of a Pastor is not only described in the Scriptures, but commanded also : shew where the office of your Seniors is so."[4] "You should have proved that the office of your Seniors is commanded, which I utterly deny."[5] "I deny that this office of Seniors is commanded anywhere in the New Testament.[6]" "You take that as granted which you cannot prove ; that is, that the office of Seniors is an office established in the Church by the commandment of God, and not to be altered ; which I,

[1] Defence of the Answer to the Admonition, Tract. 17, cap. 2, Divis. 7, p. 638. Edit. Lond. anno 1574. [2] Ibid.
[3] P. 626, 627, 628, 641, 645, 649, 654, 655.
[4] P. 614. [5] Ibid. [6] Ibid.

for my part, can never grant unto you, except you have more pithy reasons to prove it than any that you have as yet uttered."[1] Would you have more? he says, "he has not read this word [Presbyter] (a word so much insisted on by Cartwright as signifying his ruling elder,)—in any ancient History or Father, commonly taken in any other signification than that of a Priest."[2] And whereas Cartwright had reasoned thus for ruling elders—"We have not only the examples of all the Primitive Churches, (which ought to move us if there were no commandment,) but we have also a straight commandment. I say the only examples ought to move us; for what can we safelier follow than the common highway, beaten and trodden by the steps of the Apostles and of all the Churches?" Whitgift answers—"Examples of Churches there may be some, but not of your kind of Seniors; precept and commandment for this kind of government there is not one in the whole Scripture, or any other approved authority."[3] Indeed his design in that whole 17th Tractate is entirely against the order. All along he maintains that there is no Divine institution of such Seniors; that they are not necessary, nay, that they are not tolerable in a Christian monarchy. Such an advocate was Archbishop Whitgift for ruling elders.

X.—Before I proceed, let me give one serious advice to G[ilbert] R[ule] (and the rest of his brethren, advocates for Presbytery at this time in Scotland may advert to it too if they please,) it is, that unless he is willing to be abused, and to abuse others, he would not too rashly trust every author of his party, nor thus take accounts of the sentiments of learned men from every friendly hand. The Provincial Assembly of London, in their "Vindication of Presbyterial Government," (he sees) have notoriously abused him in the instance of Whitgift. And not only so, but in authorities of greater consequence, as shall be shewn by and by. And who can tell but he might have been as much abused by the authors of the "Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici," who were likewise "sundry ministers within the city of London, anno 1647," if he had chanced to turn up their book? This is certain, whoso trusts them shall be

[1] P. 645. [2] P. 627. [3] P. 638.

notoriously abused, not only by their citations from St Cyprian for ruling elders, wherein they are perfectly ridiculous,[1] and little better in any of the rest from the ancients; but also in the instance of the learned Mr Thorndike, whom they confidently cite (as the Provincial Synod did Whitgift) as an advocate for them, at least an assertor of them.[2] Now would my reader know with what reason? Let him take it in Mr Thorndike's own words, in his learned "Discourse of the Right of the Church in a Christian State."[3] I shall give them largely because they are very pleasant—"I know many Church-writers," says he, "are quoted to prove lay elders,—for that is also grown a point of learning to load the margin with texts of Scripture and allegations of authors, in hope no man will take the pains to compare them, because if he do, he shall find them nothing to the purpose. For instance myself have the honour to be alleged for one that approves lay elders, even in that place of that very discourse where I answer the best arguments that ever I heard made for them, only because I said then, as now, that we are not bound to think that all Presbyters preached during the Apostles' times. What reason, then, can any reader have to presume that any of their dead witnesses make more for their purpose than I who am alive, and stand to see myself alleged point blank against the position which I intended to prove, because, forsooth, in their understanding, the premises which I use stand not with the conclusion which I intended to prove. But to speak plain English for the future; if any man can shew by any writing of any Christian, from the Apostles to this innovation, any man endowed with the power of the keys that was not also qualified to preach and to celebrate the Eucharist, I am content to be of the Presbyteries the next morning; though I am so well satisfied that it will never be shewed, that I say confidently it will always be to-morrow." Having given this advice to G[ilbert] R[ule], which might have been more largely insisted on, and backed by divers other instances of the authors of his party, return we now to attend him.

XI.—His next work is to prove by famous witnesses that

[1] P. 171. [2] P. 174. [3] P. 127, 128, edit. Lond. 1649.

there were ruling elders in the Church before, after, and in St Cyprian's time; and "may be," he says, "on second thoughts, when I consider their testimonies, I may abate a little of my confidence."[1] Let us try them. His witnesses before St Cyprian are Origen and Tertullian. But why Origen before Tertullian? nay, why before St Cyprian? I thought St Cyprian and Origen might have been called contemporaries. St Cyprian was six years a Bishop before Origen died. Origen died only four years before St Cyprian; the one anno 254, the other 258. But let us hear Origen's deposition, even as G[ilbert] R[ule] has set it down. Εισι τινες τεταγμένοι.—"There are some appointed who do enquire into the life and manners of them who are admitted, that they may debar from the congregation such as commit vile things, and receive such as abstain from these, and make them daily better." Had the Provincial Assembly of London,[2] in their "Vindication of Presbyterial Government," given the testimony fuller, G[ilbert] R[ule] perhaps had done so too: But what has it to do with ruling elders? no more than Gen. i. 1. The matter in short is this—Celsus had objected against the Christians that they used indiscriminately to admit all, even the naughtiest, to their communion. And in answer to this notorious calumny, Origen asserts that no discipline was purer or severer than the Christian; that the governors of the Church were punctually careful to admit no licentious person to the privileges of it; that they were sure forthwith to deprive of those privileges, *i. e.* to excommunicate all such, as, after their admission by baptism, turned profligate and wicked, and never grant them re-admission but after good evidence of an hearty reformation, manifested in a long tract of penitential satisfactions: so that nothing plainer than it is from the whole series of his discourse that those τεταγμένοι were such Church-officers as had the power of the keys, and could administer sacraments, excommunicate the scandalous, impose penances, and absolve penitents. The whole passage, as it is in the original, is too long to be transcribed. G[ilbert] R[ule] may see it Contra Cels. Lib. 3, p. 142. Edit. Cantabrig. anno 1658. The Library of the College of Edinburgh[3] can afford the book.

[1] Cyp. Bp. Exd. Sect. 15, p. 19. [2] P. 45.

[3] [Gilbert Rule was Principal of Edinburgh College.—E.]

XII.—Tertullian is his other ante-Cyprianic witness, and his testimony is, Apol. cap. 39 ; (not 3, as G[ilbert] R[ule] has it) the words "*præsident probati quique Seniores, honorem istum non pretio, sed testimonio adepti*," (*i. e.* those who preside in the Christian assemblies are approved Seniors, who have got that honour not by money, but by testimony,) so many as are of them are right enough. Thanks be to the aforementioned Provincial Assembly of London for it ; for in another book of his,[1] G[ilbert] R[ule] has it scandalously wrong. "Tertullian Apol. cap. 39, (says he,) saith of the *Seniores* that preside in their assemblies, that is the ministers, *Approbantur suffragiis eorum quos regere debent*." No such words in all the Chapter—in all Tertullian's Apologetic—in all Tertullian's extant writings. Besides, if the *Probati Seniores* were the ministers, in rational defence of non-conformity, how come they to be degraded into ruling elders in "Cyprianic Bishop Examined?" But have the words nothing indeed to do with ruling elders?—no more, I say again, than with the Solemn League, (and Tertullian was no more a Covenanter than Cyprian,) unless ruling elders have the full power of the keys, and can teach, exhort, excommunicate, &c. It is plain from the testimony as you have it on the margin,[2] that Tertullian's *Seniores* could perform these acts or offices ; and doth he not elsewhere[3] most manifestly make his *præsidentes* administrators of the Eucharist? To conclude our ante-Cyprianic evidences, how often do we find both Tertullian and Origen distributing the Clergy, which they believed to be of Divine institution, into the

[1] Rat. Def. of Non-Conformity, p. 203.

[2] Corpus sumus de conscientia religionis, et disciplinæ unitate, et spei fœdere. Coimus ad Deum, quasi manu facta precationibus ambiamus—— Coimus ad literarum Divinarum commemorationem——fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam frigimus, disciplinam præceptorum nihilominus inculcationibus densamus. Ibidem etiam exhortationes castigationes et censura divina. Nam et judicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conspectu ; summumque futuri judicii præjudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut à communicatione orationis et conventus et omnis sancti commercii relegetur. *Præsident* probati quique *Seniores*, honorem istum non pretio, sed testimonio adepti ; neque enim pretio ulla res Dei constat. Tert. Apol. cap. 39.

[3] Eucharistiæ Sacramentum, et in tempore victus, et omnibus mandatum à Domino, etiam antelucanis cœtibus, nec de aliorum manu quam *Præsidentium* sumimus. De Corona, cap. 3.

three orders of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons? Had G[ilbert] R[ule] discovered his ruling elders in any one of those so frequently occurring distributions or remunerations, he had something to say; but he might as wisely have sought for Monks of Melrose or Knights of Malta in the testimonies adduced by him, as for ruling elders of his cut; that is, an order of Church-officers superior to the order of Deacons, inferior to the order of Priests, instituted by Christ precisely for government and discipline, but without power to preach or administer sacraments.

XIII.—After St Cyprian's time G[ilbert] R[ule] cites divers authors, Jerome, Austin, Gregorius Magnus, Isidorus Hispalensis. I am not at present to concern myself much about them, because he cites them as being after St Cyprian, for whose time I am only concerned, and it being none of my present designs fully to discuss the controversy; only therefore some few short hints about this file of testimonies. And 1. it may be observed, that G[ilbert] R[ule] has them all in so many words from "Vindication of Presbyterial Government,"[1] two only excepted. 2. That these two are but very sorrily treated by G[ilbert] R[ule]—one is a testimony of Austin's, which G[ilbert] R[ule] says is to be found *contra Crescentium*, lib. 3, cap. 1, whereas he ought to have said *contra Cresconium*, lib. 3, cap. 29;—the other is a testimony of Gregory's, for which G[ilbert] R[ule] cites neither book, nor epistles, nor page—gives us no direction how to find it. 3. Not one of his post-Cyprianic authorities comes up to ruling elders as above defined—not one of them but is capable of a far more natural sense than must needs be forced on them before they can give the least shadow of countenance to those elders; *e. g.* 4. How is it imaginable, had there been such an order in the Church in St Jerome's time, that he who wrote so many commentaries on the books of Holy Scripture, and so many long and elaborate epistles, and books, and discourses, wherein he might have had so many proper occasions, nay, sometimes plain provocations (as in Epist. *ad Evagrium* for instance,) to have mentioned them, should yet never have done it but in one short sentence in his Commentary on the 2d Verse of the 3d Chapter of Isaiah's Prophecies? but then the best of it is, that even

[1] P. 45, 46.

there is nothing like them. G[ilbert] R[ule] should certainly have borrowed the testimony (not from the Synod of London, but) from his good friend Paul Bayn, who delivers it thus—"Et nos Senatum habemus cœtum Presbyterorum, sine quorum consilio nihil agi à quoquam licet, sicut Romani habuerunt Senatum cujus consilio cuncta gerebantur."[1] Though even thus it might have been controverted; but as Jerome himself has it, no violence can force it to stand for ruling elders. His words are—"Et nos habemus in Ecclesia Senatum nostrum cœtum Presbyterorum," that is unquestionably not ruling elders, but the second order of priests; unquestionably I say, for no doubt it is the same Senate he talks of here, which he pleads for elsewhere.[2]

XIV.—What hath been said of Jerome may 5, be repeated concerning Austin. Nor is there so much as a shadow of an argument in all G[ilbert] R[ule] has adduced from him for ruling elders, unless G[ilbert] R[ule] can make two things appear—viz. that they might have been such as he would have them, and yet none of the Clergy, for Austin always distinguishes them from the Clergy: and that the word Seniores must needs signify his ruling elders, and it is not possible that it can have another signification—which to affirm, were indeed to procure to himself no very laudable character; for who knows not that in those times there were *Seniores plebis* who were not Christians at all, and others, who, though Christians, yet were no Church-officers? Nothing more certain (as Blondel, "De Jure Plebis," &c., could have told G[ilbert] R[ule],) than that there were many *heteriæ*, or corporations of men of all trades, whereof the chief or principal men were called Seniores. And then, 6, and particularly, as for the purgation of Cæcilianus and Felix; G[ilbert] R[ule] might have got more concerning Seniors in the "Gesta Purgationis Cæciliani et Felicis" themselves, than in Austin's abstract of them. The *Seniores plebis*, if my memory fails me not, are five times mentioned in those "Gesta." But then the luck of it is, they are always postponed to not only the Deacons, but the very Sub-deacons and Lectors, nay the very Fossores—the grave-makers—contrary to all the laws of heraldry, had they been an order of Church-officers superior to Deacons. But what needs more? These same very "Gesta" lay open the whole

[1] Diocesan's Trial, p. 26. [2] Epist. ad Evag. et Comment. on Tit.

mystery. Victor Grammaticus comes at last to be examined as a witness, and to declare what he knew concerning Silvanus's being a Traditor; and yet Nundinarius calls him a Senior, though it be certain from the whole series of the "Gesta," so far as he is mentioned in them, that he was no ecclesiastic office-bearer;[1] nay, his very being designed Grammaticus is enough, though there were no more, to prove that he was no Church-officer. It is plainly added to his name for distinction sake, and to shew what was his occupation. To call him Grammaticus was as much as to say he was "*Nulla functione Clericatui adstrictus*," as Austin says of Cresconius the grammarian. "Contra Cresconium," lib. 1, cap. 1.

XV.—But I must not stay to discuss things so minutely. Two general considerations may serve for all. 7, Then, never a word of G[ilbert] R[ule]'s ruling elders, in so much as any one of the innumerable enumerations of the orders of Church-officers in the monuments of the primitive times—no mention of them in any council or consistory, particular or diocesan, provincial, patriarchal, or general—not a syllable in any imperatorial edict—not a scrap about them in any Church historian—a general silence of them in all the ancient commentaries upon all the books of either Old or New Testament. Frequent mention, however, in most of all those ancient monuments not only of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, but of all other inferior orders, Sub-deacons, Exorcists, Lectors, Acolyths, Door-keepers, Grave-diggers, &c. How hard has the fate of ruling elders been, that they, who by their institution (as our Presbyterian brethren would have it,) should have signified so much every where, should have been mentioned nowhere? But doth not the Pseudo-Ambrose mention them? I say he doth not. I shall give my reasons for my saying so, when G[ilbert] R[ule] shall

[1] Zenophilus vir clarissimus consularis Victori dixit: Ergo sciebas traditorem? (Silvanum). Victor respondit: Traditor fuit. Nundinarius Diaconus dixit: *Vos Seniores* clamabatis: Exaudi Deus, civem nostrum volumus, ille traditor est. Zenoph. vir clarissimus consularis Victori dixit: Clamasti ergo cum populo quod traditor esset Silvanus, et non deberet fieri Episcopus? Victor dixit: Clamavi et ego et populus. Nos enim civem nostrum petebamus integrum virum. Gesta Purg. Cæcil. et Felicis, edit. cum Optat. Milevit. Parisii, anno 1631, p. 171.—[I find this quotation, not in "Gesta Cæcil. et Fel." but in "Gesta apud Zenophilum, quibus Sylvanum——Traditorem fuisse constat." Vide Routh's Reliquiæ Sacræ, vol. iv. p. 109.—E.]

put me to it. All I am to say now, is that which is my next consideration, viz. that making the false supposition that he mentions them, all the force of G[ilbert] R[ule]'s post-Cyprianic authorities is irrecoverably evacuated by it; for Hilary, (a Roman Deacon, the true author of those Commentaries on St Paul's Epistles, falsely attributed to Ambrose, says concerning these Seniors,) he mentions that they were quite out of doors long before he wrote those Commentaries, as is evident from his words, as you have them on the margin.[1] But he wrote them while Damasus was Bishop of Rome, if we may take his own word for it,[2] that is before the year 378. By consequence the Seniores he speaks of were in desuetude before St Jerome wrote his Commentaries on Isaiah, long before Austin was Bishop of Hippo, long before he wrote his books against Cresconius, or any of those Epistles wherein he mentions any Seniores, very much longer yet, even by full centuries, before either Gregorius Magnus, or Isidorus Hispalensis wrote a syllable. And so much at present about G[ilbert] R[ule]'s post-Cyprianic witnesses.

XVI.—Come we now to St Cyprian's contemporaries. "It is yet more fully," says G[ilbert] R[ule], "against this author's bold assertion, that even in St Cyprian's time itself this office was in the Church, as witness the writers of that age." And then he cites two—what two? St Basil who died not till the year 378, *i. e.* 120 years after St Cyprian; and Optatus Milevitanus, who perhaps outlived St Basil. This is certainly colligible from his own writings that he wrote against Parmenianus the Donatist, about the year 370, whereas St Cyprian (as hath been said,) died anno 258. The making these St Cyprian's contemporaries did indeed put me to my thinking. Possibly, thought I, [Gilbert] R[ule] intends sometime to stand for one of our Re-

[1] "Nam apud omnes utique gentes honorabilis est senectus. Unde et synagoga, et postea Ecclesia *Seniores* habuit, quorum sine consilio nihil agebatur in Ecclesia. Quod qua negligentia *obsoleverit* nescio," &c. in 1 Tim. v. 1, nam in ver. 17. Omnia habet Senioribus Regentibus repugnantia.

[2] In hæc Pauli ad Timotheum verba, 1 Tim. iii. 15, UT SCIAS QUEMADMODOM OPORTEAT TE IN DOMO DEI CONVERSARI, QUÆ EST ECCLESIA DEI VIVI, COLUMNA ET FIRMAMENTUM VERITATIS, sic Hilarius—"scribo tibi ut scias quomodo Ecclesiam ordines, quæ est domus Dei, ut cum totus mundus Dei sit, Ecclesia tamen domus ejus dicatur, cujus *hodie* Rector est *Damasus*."

formers, one of John Knox's contemporaries. And then I cannot tell how many consequences I dreaded; but one was so obvious that I think I may name it; it was, that allowing him once to be one of Knox's contemporaries, the author of the "Fundamental Charter," &c. would be ruined for ever. G[ilbert] R[ule]'s testimony, as having lived in the days of the Reformation, would in reason pass for good evidence of the Church of Scotland's being reformed by men of Presbyterian principles. But so good luck would have it, I was eased of the trouble of such reasonings when I saw G[ilbert] R[ule]'s "Good Old Way Defended." Some body it seems had convinced him that he had published a most notorious blunder in calling St Basil and Optatus St Cyprian's contemporaries; and therefore he thought fit to publish a retractation of it and an apology for it. He confesses a chronological mistake, and says it was occasioned by an over hasty glance of the chronological tables. Now, supposing his ingenuity were not to be suspected in the matter, yet what a sorry apology was it for him to lay the blame on an over hasty glance of the chronological tables? However, it might have done for schoolboys and such little people as I acknowledge myself to be, who write by no authority, but merely from mine own private inclinations, to say the best I can in the defence of that which I think a very good cause, yet I cannot see how it suited with the honour of a public, stated, authorized, proclaimed "Vindicator of a National Kirk;" but I said, supposing his ingenuity were not to be supected: some, perhaps, may apprehend from this, that there is no reason to suspect it. I shall neither say there is, nor there is not; but this I cannot forbear to say, that if he had not published this apology for his blunder, I should have been strongly provoked to have imputed it to another cause, viz. to his finding St Basil and Optatus immediately subjoined to Origen and Tertullian, by the Synod of London, in their "Vindication of Presbyterial Government." It was this Synod, I am confident, that made him blunder about Origen, in putting him before Tertullian, and imagining that he was not one of Cyprian's contemporaries; and it is certain that he has taken the testimonies of Basil and Optatus from that "Vindication." Might it not then have been very probably con-

cluded that his having found them so ranked by that Synod had been the ground of his mistake, if he himself had not devolved it upon the chronological tables? But to leave this.

XVII.—When G[ilbert] R[ule] was upon the vein of retracting, he had done himself no injury though he had likewise retracted the bringing of St Basil's testimony; for he has suffered himself to be exceedingly abused by the Londoners in it. "*Basil*, (says G[ilbert] R[ule], word for word after them,) in Psalm xxxiii. quatuor gradus ministrorum constituit, quod scil. alii sunt in Ecclesia instar oculorum, ut Seniores, alii instar linguæ, ut Pastores, alii tanquam manus ut Diaconi," &c.[1] May I adventure to turn it into Scottish, seeing G[ilbert] R[ule] has not done it? If I may, it runs thus, as I take it.—"Basil on Psalm xxxiii. reckons four degrees or orders of ministers, viz. that some are in the Church, as it were eyes, such as seniors or ruling elders; others, as it were tongues, such as Pastors; others like hands, such as Deacons," &c. The fourth order lurks still in the belly of, &c. The Synod was not at leisure (perhaps not able) to midwife it out; and G[ilbert] R[ule], for a good reason, found himself obliged to give it as he got it. But after all it was manfully done to find even the three orders mentioned in St Basil's words. All I can do is to set down the Father's own words in his own language, as faithfully as I can transcribe them from Frobenius's edition of St Basil's works, anno 1551, on my margin,[2] and translate them as I am able, and leave to the reader to judge whether there be any ruling elders in them. They are on Psalm xxxiii. verse 18, and run to this purpose in Scottish. "As the saints are the body of Christ, and members in part; and as God hath set in the Church some in the place of eyes, others of tongues, others of hands, and others of feet; just so among the holy spiritual powers (the angels) in heaven, some are called eyes, because they have received or are instructed with

[1] Sect. 16, p. 20.

[2] "Ωσπερ οἱ ἅγιοι σωμά ἐισι καὶ μέλη ἐκ μέρους, κὰι ἔθετω ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ εκκλησίᾳ τοὺς μὲν οφθαλμους, τους νε γλωσσας, ἑτέρους δὲ τὸν των χειρῶν και ἄλλους τὸν των ποδῶν ἐπέχοντας λογον; οὕτω κὰι αἱ ἅγιαι δυνάμεις αἵ πνευματικὰι κὰι περὶ τὸν οὐρανιον οὐσαι τόπον αἱ μὲν οφθαλμοὶ λέγονται τῳ τὴν επισκοπὴν ἡμων παραδέχεσθαι ἢ πιστευθῆναι αἱ δὲ ὦτα τῳ παραδεχεσθαι ἡμων τὰς δεὴσεις; νῦν οὖν τὴν εποπτικην ἡμων, και την των ευχῶν αντιληπτικην οφθαλμοὺς εἶπεν κὰι ὦτα.—[Basil. Op. Paris, 1618.—E.]

the inspection of us; others are called ears, because they receive our prayers. And hence it is that here, (in this verse of this Psalm,) he (the Psalmist) calls the powers which oversee us and assist our prayers, eyes and ears," &c. Any body may now see the reason why we got nothing but an &c. from both the Synod and G[ilbert] R[ule] for the fourth order of ministers; for it was a little puzzling to fall on the order that might answer to the feet; if I were sure G[ilbert] R[ule] would compound the matter with me, I could find them out. I think our Scottish Bishops now a-days might be the men, for believe G[ilbert] R[ule] and his brethren, and they are the most despicable ministers of the nation. But in good earnest, and in the name of common sense and christian ingenuity, can it be innocent thus to abuse the simple people by giving them to believe that the venerable Fathers of the Primitive Church give testimony to such things as never entered their hearts nor their heads? What can be more certain than that St Basil's aim was to shew God's care over his Church in appointing his holy angels to oversee Christians and give such and such assistances? And that it was not so much as in his thought to give any account of any visible Church-officers? Sure I am, transubstantiation and purgatory have as much foundation in his words as ruling elders. This may be another warning to G[ilbert] R[ule] to beware of taking things at second hand from every body; at least it may be a warning to others not to trust too much to G[ilbert] R[ule]'s citations.

XVIII.—Optatus does G[ilbert] R[ule] as little service as St Basil. It is true, indeed, he calls those to whom Mensurius—when he was obliged to go to the Palatium, the Emperor's Court—committed the sacred utensils—*Seniores*, elders. G[ilbert] R[ule] words it for his own advantage, saying, "he committed them to the custody of the faithful elders of the Church."[1] There is not a word of the Church in Optatus, nor doth he call them faithful elders, but rather most unfaithful His words are on the margin,[2] and their

[1] Sect. 16, p. 21.

[2] Rescriptum venit, ut si Mensurius Felicem Diaconum non reddidisset, ad Palatium dirigeretur. Conventus non leves patiebatur angustias. Erant enim Ecclesiæ ex auro et argento quam plurima ornamenta, quæ nec defodere terræ, nec secum portare poterat. Quasi fidelibus *Senioribus*,

true meaning is obviously no more than that he committed them to Seniors, deeming them faithful, or as if they had been faithful, and that Mensurius was deceived in the matter. That they were most unfaithful, is certain, if we may believe Optatus in that very same page; for he says, when peace was restored to the Church, and another Bishop was constituted, and the inventory of the utensils given to him, according to Mensurius's order, those Seniors were called to an account, but made none, having glutted their own avarice with the consecrated ornaments; and when they were like to be forced to account for them, they added the sin of schism to the sin of sacrilege, carrying off the people from the Bishop's communion.[1] This I have only taken notice of by the way, that the reader may see how inaccurate G[ilbert] R[ule] is in his accounts. But why should he have been more accurate than his masters, the Provincial Synod of London, from whom he had this testimony of Optatus with the rest.[2]

XIX.—But doth not Optatus's testimony amount to a good proof that in Mensurius's days there were ruling elders? It amounts to no such thing. What, shall we still have an order of Church-officers of Divine institution, superior to Deacons, inferior to Priests or Pastors, instructed with the power of government and discipline, but none of the sacraments, wherever we find the word *Seniores*, and what more have we but the bare word in Optatus? What reasoning is this? For my part, Mensurius's committing the inventory to the custody of an old woman, to be kept by her, and delivered to his successor, if he should not return, seems to me a considerable argument, that those Seniors were no Church-officers. For I believe G[ilbert] R[ule] shall not find it easy to reconcile it with

commendavit, commemoratio facta, quod cuidam aniculæ dedisse dicitur; ita ut si ipse non rediret, reddita pace Christianis, anniculam illam illi daret, quem in Episcopali cathedra sedentem inveniret. Optat. Mil. ad Parmen. lib. i. fol. 8. Edit. Parisiis, anno 1569. [Biblioth. Vet. Pat. Lugd. Tom. iv, p. 344.—E.]

[1] —Suffragio totius populi Cæcilianus eligitur (Episcopus nempe Carthageniensis)—— Brevis auri et argenti sedenti Cæciliano, sicut delegatum à Mensurio fuerat, traditur, adhibitis testibus. Convocantur supra memorati *Seniores*, qui faucibus avaritiæ commendatam ebiberant prædam. Cum reddere cogerentur, subduxerunt communioni plebem. Ibid.

[2] Vindication of Presb. Government, p. 45, 46.

the principles or customs of those times, that a Bishop should have appointed male laics, as checks over such as were in holy orders; and it is certain, that in those times all church-officers, even sub-deacons and lectors, &c. were ordained by the imposition of the hand. How incredible then must it be that Mensurius would have made a little old woman a check over ruling elders, who, by the Presbyterian principles, are such eminent officers of the Church, above Deacons themselves? But besides this we have a plain demonstration that Optatus by his Seniors did not mean G[ilbert] R[ule]'s ruling elders. We have him more than once reckoning up all the orders of the Church, but always so as that you shall not find a ruling elder among them. Thus Lib. 1. telling how many had lapsed in the days of the dreadful persecution set on foot by the Emperor Dioclesian, he distributes all Christians into five ranks. 1. The Laics, who were underpropped by no (ecclesiastical) dignity as he words it. 2. The *Ministri*, the Under-officers, Sub-deacons, Acolyths, Door-keepers, &c. 3. The Deacons in the third, and 4. the Presbyters in the second Priesthood, and then, 5. the Tops and Princes of all, the Bishops.[1] Now let G[ilbert] R[ule] try his skill, and let us see to which of these five ranks he can reduce his ruling elders; will he find them among the laics? These were in *Ecclesia nulla dignitate suffulti.* They had no ecclesiastical dignity. He cannot seek for them among the *Ministri.* Will he seek for the governors among the servants of the Church? Among those who had no interest in the government? As little can he expect to find them among the Deacons. It were still a diminution of their dignity to seek for them there. Nor shall he find them among Optatus's Presbyters, for all these were Priests, they were *in secundo sacerdotio constituti.* But if they can be found in none of these classes I think it may prove lost labour to seek for them at all in Optatus, for G[ilbert] R[ule] himself I

[1] Quid commemorem laicos, qui tunc in Ecclesia, nulla fuerant dignitate suffulti? Quid Ministros plurimos? Quid Diaconos in *tertio?* Quid Presbyteros in *secundo sacerdotio* constitutos? Ipsi apices et principes omnium aliqui Episcopi, illis temporibus, ut damno æternæ vitæ, istius incertæ lucis moras brevissimas compararent instrumenta Divinæ legis impiè tradiderunt. [Bib. Pat. Vet. Lugd. Tom. iv, p. 344.—E.]

suppose will scarcely take the courage to seek for them among the *Apices* and *Principes omnium*, the Bishops. Optatus, Lib. 2, has the same enumeration of degrees over again. "The Church (says he) has distinct members, Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, servants, and the crowd of the faithful."[1] G[ilbert] R[ule] will have the same difficulty to find them here as in the preceding muster. Again, in that same second book he has another distribution, somewhat varying indeed from the former two; but every whit as unserviceable to G[ilbert] R[ule] — "There are in the Church four ranks of people, Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and the faithful."[2] Optatus, as I take it, here reckons up three orders, as of Divine, or (which is all one) Apostolic institution, Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons. It is evident from what hath been said that ruling elders were not ranked by Optatus in any of these three orders. And if G[ilbert] R[ule] will seek for them among the faithful (to which rank here the *Ministri* seem to belong, as being only of human and prudential establishment) let him be doing. If he finds them he shall find them both inferior to Deacons, and without Divine appointment. Once more, in that same second book Optatus addresses thus to the Donatists—"You have found boys, you have made them penitents, and have thereby disabled them for ever for being received into holy orders. Confess that you have ruined souls. You have found ancient believers, you have (done with them as you did with the *pueri*) reduced them to the state of penitents. Confess that you have ruined souls. You have found Deacons, Presbyters, and Bishops, and you have made them laics. Confess that you have ruined souls."[3] No room here

[1] Certa membra sua habet Ecclesia, Episcopos, Presbyteros, Diaconos, Ministros, et turbam fidelium. Dicite cui generi hominum in Ecclesia nostra hoc possit ascribi, quod objicere voluisti? Specialiter nomina alicuem ministrum, ostende aliquem Diaconum nomine suo. Indica hoc ab aliquo factum esse Presbytero. Proba hoc Episcopos admisisse. Lib. ii. fol. 21. [Bib. Pat. Vet. Lugd. Tom. iv, p. 349.—E.]

[2] Extendistis enim manum, et super omne caput mortifera velamina prætendistis: ut cum sint (sicut supra dixi) quatuor genera capitum in Ecclesia, Episcoporum, Presbyterorum, Diaconorum et Fidelium; nec uni parcere voluistis: evertistis animas hominum. Lib. ii. fol. 26. [Ibid. p. 351.—E.]

[3] Invenistis pueros: de pœnitentia sauciastis, ne aliqui ordinari potuissent. Agnoscite vos animas evertisse. Invenistis fideles antiquos, fecistis pœnitentes. Agnoscite vos animas evertisse. Invenistis Diaconos, Pres-

neither for G[ilbert] R[ule]'s ruling elders, as it is plain from what hath been said unless among the laics, and then what hath been said recurs too. They are in *Ecclesia nulla dignitate suffulti.* They are not Church governors.

XX.—By this time the reader may judge what all the huff and confidence wherewith G[ilbert] R[ule] introduced himself to this controversy, has amounted to. Well! but I have acted only defensively—endeavoured to evacuate his evidences for ruling elders—but have brought none against them. This rub is soon removed; for if it is an unfounded order, it is not necessary it should be at all. Besides, as I have already intimated, it was not my design fully to discuss this controversy. It is not necessary I should, in pursuance of the main design of my book, which is, to shew that there was real and proper Prelacy in the Church in St Cyprian's time; now it is plain this might have been, though there had been ruling elders; however, that I may shew it had been no hard task to have acted offensively too, I am content to give an argument or two *ad hominem*, as they call them. And

XXI.—1. When I was shewing that I did not think myself obliged to maintain that a Bishop has the sole power of ordination and jurisdiction, I did distinguish between a power, without, or against which no other powers can act, though they may in conjunction with it, or subordination to it; and a power destroying all other powers, or disabling them from acting.[1] This distinction G[ilbert] R[ule] encounters thus—"If Presbyters cannot act (says he) except the Bishop please, and if they must follow his light, whatever be their own, I see not what power they have;"[2] that is, plainly, if a Bishop has a negative over them, Presbyters have no power at all. Now, the same G[ilbert] R[ule,] in the same book, tells that "it is probable enough"(*i. e.* at least he will not deny) "that for acts of ruling in the Church the ruling elders could do nothing without him who was their præses in their meetings (the Pastor), except, may be, in some extraordinary cases."[3] And in another place—"We (Pres-

byteros, Episcopos: fecistis Laicos. Agnoscite vos animas evertisse. Ibid. et fol. 27. [Ibid.—E.]

[1] Prin. Cyp. Age, p. 2.

[2] Cyp. Bp. Exam. sect. 7, p. 7.

[3] *Ibid.* sect. 48, p. 70.

byterians) always maintained (says he) that a Bishop, considered as a parish minister, has authority over the ruling elders.[1]" Now, what authority can he have over them lesser than a negative?—what authority can he have over them if ordinarily they can act whether he will or not? It is plain, then, that at least in all ordinary cases the Pastor, by G[ilbert] R[ule]'s principles, has a negative over the ruling elders; but if he has a negative over them in all ordinary cases, then in all ordinary cases he has a power without, or against which they cannot act; and so it must needs follow, by the same G[ilbert] R[ule]'s principles, that ruling elders cannot be ordinary church governors; nay, may be, no not extraordinary church governors; for it is no more but *may be* they can act without the Pastor in cases extraordinary; and that which is only in the state of *may be* may not be; but it is enough if they are not ordinary church governors—and that they are not, is demonstrable from the principles laid down; for they cannot be ordinary church governors—they cannot be church governors at all if they have no power, no more than a body can be without extension, or a rational soul without the capacity of thinking; but according to the principles laid down, they can have no power, for thus the demonstration runs — if ruling elders cannot act except the Pastor please, and if they must follow his light, whatever be their own, I see not what power they have, *i. e.* they have no power; and if they have no power, they are no church governors, *q. e. d.* This, I confess, is purely *ad hominem*—I am curious to see how G[ilbert] R[ule] will avoid the force of it, without voiding the force of his own reasoning against my distinction. Again,

XXII.—2. G[ilbert] R[ule] in one place approves,[2] and in another[3] adopts and makes use of Blondel's argument, taken from the dichotomy of the Clergy into Rulers and Deacons; but, generally, Blondel's proofs he brings for this dichotomy do exclude ruling elders from being comprehended under either member of it. G[ilbert] R[ule] himself will not allow them to be sought for among the Deacons—Blondel's proofs will as little allow them to be sought for among the *Præpositi*—the rulers, for these they generally make Priests, that is,

[1] *Ibid.* sect. 56, p. 84. [2] Sect. 12, p. 15. [3] Sect. 36, p. 49.

such as can administer sacraments; which ruling elders neither are nor can be pretended to be; for instances, let G[ilbert] R[ule,] or any man, turn to "Blondel's Apology for the Opinion of Jerome," and he will find that the dichotomy runs between Priests and Deacons, either in the same or equivalent terms, in the testimonies of St Jerome himself,[1] Clemens Romanus,[2] Polycarp,[3] Justin Martyr,[4] Clemens Alex.[5] Origen,[6] Cyprian,[7] Pontius,[8] Hilarius Pictav.[9] Hilarius Diaconus,[10] the author of the Questions on the Old and New Test.[11] Basil,[12] Greg. Nazianz.[13] Chrysostom,[14] Pelagius,[15] Salvianus,[16] Primasius,[17] Gildas,[18] Isidorus Hispal.[19] Amalarius,[20] Rabanus Maurus.[21] But what needs more? The main purpose of the argument taken from the dichotomy sends ruling elders packing. The very design of it is to make all those who are comprehended in that member of that dichotomy which stands in opposition to Deacons, to make them all, I say, of one order, to leave no such distinction between Bishops and Presbyters as may range them into two different orders. Now, no man ever said, G[ilbert] R[ule] himself will not say, that his ruling elders are of the same order with Pastors; but if they are not, what can be more evident than that they are quite excluded from being church-officers by the argument taken from the dichotomy? Blondel himself seems to have been sensible that this consequence did unavoidably result from his argument; for, in all his large "Apology for the Opinion of St Jerome," he never so much as once attempts to establish the order of ruling elders, and in his "Dissertation de Jure Plebis," &c. he manifestly rejects it, as hath been already shewn. In short, G[ilbert] R[ule] must have one of two faculties—he must either be regardless of contradictions or he must be able to reconcile them—or else he must part with ruling elders, having espoused the argument taken from the dichotomy. No reason, formed after the common standard, can entertain both. Thus I have given two arguments against ruling elders *ad hominem*—(the latter *ad rem* too,

[1] Apol. pro Sent. Hieron. p. 4, 7, 8. [2] P. 10. [3] P. 16.
[4] P. 22. [5] P. 36. [6] P. 39. [7] P. 43. [8] P. 45.
[9] P. 47. [10] P. 57. [11] P. 60. [12] P. 63. [13] P. 64.
[14] P. 66. [15] P. 67. [16] P. 70, 71. [17] P. 72.
[18] P. 72. [19] P. 73, 74. [20] P. 81. [21] P. 83.

when seriously considered, if I mistake it not.) Let me give other two *ad homines* (for now I take in T[homas] F[orrester], his brother Principal, in his admirable book, lately published, entituled " the Hierarchical Bishops Claim," &c., to bear G[ilbert] R[ule] company) and I have done.

XXIII.—3. Then G[ilbert] R[ule] has frankly acknowledged (*i. e.* he has said " he will not contest it with me," which I take to be a very frank acknowledgment from G[ilbert] R[ule,]) that all church power of government and discipline is founded on the power of the sacraments.[1] T[homas] F[orrester] in his " Review of Dr Scott's Pleadings," says in express terms, that " he holds the *governing power* to be *appendant* upon, and *consequent* unto the *power* of *order* in *preaching* and *administrating* the *seals* of the *covenant*."[2] Dare I adventure now to entertain our two Principals with a syllogism or two? Why, what is the hazard? Here then they are :—1. None can have the power of church-government and discipline but those who have the power of preaching or administrating the sacraments'; but ruling elders have not the power of preaching or administrating sacraments. *Ergo*, they can have no power of church-government and discipline. 2. Those who have no power of church-government and discipline are no church-governors; but ruling elders have no power of church-government and discipline. *Ergo*, they are no church-governors. This reasoning, I dread, may be found *ad rem* too, as well as *ad homines*. I mean that this proposition—that the power of church-government and discipline is founded on the power of the sacraments—stands upon surer foundations than the concessions or assertions of either G[ilbert] R[ule] or T[homas] F[orrester]. In the meantime I proceed.

XXIV.—4. G[ilbert] R[ule] in his famed " Animadversions on Dr Stillingfleet's Irenicum," was not at greater pains to prove anything, than that the *powers of teaching and ruling are inseparable*.[3] It is true, in his " True Representation of Presbyterian Government," the circumstances of affairs so requiring, he found himself obliged to qualify that principle a little, and to maintain the separability of the teaching and the ruling powers in cases of necessity, in

[1] Sect. 51, p. 75. [2] P. 104. [3] P. 97, &c.

critical interims, in *turbato statu Ecclesiæ*, as he there words it.[1] I can give him this too, for it does no hurt to my argument, as we shall hear by and by. T[homas] F[orrester] is as earnest for the aforesaid inseparability as G[ilbert] R[ule] is. We have had him already declaring "the governing power to be appendant upon and consequent unto the power of order." He had said the same thing before,[2] "The preaching of the Word and administration of the sacraments, together with the *appendant* power of discipline and government——." Again, in that same "Review of Dr Scott's Pleadings,"—"Our Lord (says he,) divided them not,"—viz. the doctrinal and jurisdictional keys,—"neither were the Apostles to divide them—— therefore, since the Doctor acknowledges that the Apostles, by virtue of our Lord's commission, devolved upon Pastors the doctrinal authority, and committed to them that key, why not, I pray, the jurisdictional also, both being *inseparably* tied together?"[3] And a little after he positively affirms, that "both keys are in their nature *inseparably* connected."[4] He has the same notion over again in his "Review of Dr Monro's Pleadings." I mean, he makes the jurisdictional power an appendage of the power of preaching the Gospel and administrating sacraments.[5] Both authors do likewise in most express terms deny all power of preaching to ruling elders. They have "no dogmatic power that is proper to Pastors," says T[homas] F[orrester].[6] But what need of consequences where we have plain and positive assertions? "We hold," says he, "that the Scripture points out an *Elder* or *Presbyter* that *rules only*, and is inferior to the labourer in the Word and doctrine, as having *no interest* therein."[7] G[ilbert] R[ule] says the same thing—"Ruling elders have no authority to preach."[8] "There were ruling elders who were not preachers."[9] "There might be a plurality of Presbyters in a particular congregation, not only Presbyters that were *only ruling*, but *preachers* also."[10] "The ruling elders who were no preachers."[11] These two

[1] P. ult. [2] P. 8. [3] P. 102. [4] P. 103. [5] P. 17. [6] P. 2.
[7] *Ibid.* [8] Cyp. Bp. Exam. sect. 14, p. 18.
[9] *Ibid.* sect. 15, p. 19. [10] Sect. 24, p. 29.
[11] Sect. 48, p. 70. See also "Good Old Way Defended," p. 23. Where G[ilbert] R[ule] thus:—"They who are sent to teach and baptize authoritatively in the name of Christ, and have power to command and require

propositions then are clear, 1. That the power of preaching and administrating sacraments, and the power of governing and discipline are inseparable. 2. That ruling elders have not the power of preaching and administrating sacraments. I dare not adventure on more syllogisms; but I may ask a question or two. I ask then, seeing the powers of preaching and governing are inseparable, how can ruling elders[1] have the latter, when it is confessed they have not the former? Where two powers are in their nature inseparably connected, how can one be where both are not? Where one power is appendent upon, and consequent unto another, how can it (exist, shall I say, or) subsist without that other, to which it is appendent, and on which it is consequent? Nay, say that those powers are separable in cases of necessity, in critical interims, in troubled states of the Church, and I have still some questions. Have we had nothing but one continued case of necessity? has all been critical interim? Has the Church been always in *statu turbato*, never a day nor an hour in *statu pacato*, ever since our Saviour's days? And must not the two mentioned powers have been in a constant state of separation ever since our Saviour's days, if there were ruling elders who had the one without the other? Is it imaginable that our blessed Lord or his Apostles instituted an order of office-bearers in his Church, who yet could have no power without perpetual violence done to nature? No power but such as at best could only be had in cases of singular necessity, or critical interims, or troubled states of the Church? And so much for G[ilbert] R[ule]'s tripartite distinction, which, methinks, by this time is sufficiently discovered to be as unserviceable to him as any of the preceding subterfuges.

people (by virtue of their commission from Christ) to obey what they enjoin them, have also power of spiritual correction of them who do not obey his laws; for we do not read that Christ committed to some the *one of these powers*, and the *other* to *others*."

[1] [Upon the office of ruling elder, see Note in the "Principles of the Cyprianic Age," p. 10, 11, 12.—E.]

CHAPTER IX.

NO COUNTENANCE GIVEN BY THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CYPRIANIC AGE TO THE PAPACY.

SECT. I. ST JEROME, I remember, allows no man "to sit silent under a suspicion of heresy."[1] G[ilbert] R[ule] has endeavoured to bring me under the suspicion of one—and not a little one—even plain Popery. Enquire we therefore with what reason. But then when I consider that St Austin has said in one place that "no man, unless his own heart consents to it, is wounded from another man's mouth;"[2] and in another, that "it is no wonder that he who endeavours to gather scattered wheat should suffer injuries from the resilient dust that is about it; or that he who diligently seeks after our Lord's lost sheep should be torn with the prickles of thorny tongues;"[3] and in a third that "he who wilfully detracts from one's reputation mistakes his measures, and adds to that one's reward."[4] When I consider that excellent saying of St Cyprian's, that "not the reproached but the reproacher is the wretch—that not he who is smitten, but he who smites his brother, is the sinner in the eye of the law"—and "he who injures the innocent is the injured person."[5] When I consider that St Paul, the great preacher

[1] Nolo in suspicione hæresos quenquam esse patientem, &c. Ep. 61, ad Pammach.

[2] Sic autem unicuique est os proprium, nec quisquam sine consensu cordis sui ex ore vulneratur alieno.—Cont. Ep. Parmen. lib. ii. cap. 12.

[3] Quid ergo mirum, si cum grana de area Dominica excussa, simul cum terra et palea introrsum traho, injuriam resilientis pulveris suffero? vel cum Domini mei oves perditas diligenter inquiro, spinosarum linguarum vepribus laceror?—Contra Lit. Petil. lib. iii. cap. 11.

[4] Quisquis volens detrahit famæ meæ, nolens addit mercedi meæ—Cont. Lit. Petil. lib. iii. cap. 7.

[5] Neque enim qui audit convicium, sed qui facit miser est. Nec qui à fratre vapulat, sed qui fratrem cædit, in lege peccator est: Et cum

of the doctrine of non-resistance, was accused of sedition,[1] and all the Apostles of being drunk on the day of Pentecost,[2] and all the Primitive Christians of atheism, and eating the flesh of harmless infants, and indulging themselves in all lewdness and promiscuous mixtures; nay, that our Redeemer himself was not only called "a glutton and a wine-bibber, and a friend to publicans and sinners,"[3] but said to have had a devil,[4] and "to have cast out devils by the prince of devils."[5] When I consider that I am not alone in this matter, but that all advocates for Episcopacy, and by consequence the best advocates the Protestant cause has had against Popery, are generally involved with me in the suspicion—when I consider these things, I say, I think I have no reason to be angry; and therefore, with the reader's allowance, and without passion, I will briefly apply myself to these two things:—1. To do myself justice; and then, 2. To consider the grounds of the common clamour raised by our Presbyterian brethren against the advocates for Episcopacy, as if they were friends to the Papacy.

II.—1. Let me do myself justice—an easy work, and requiring no mighty applications; but it must be done. First, then, the serviceable jealousy is started in the very first page of G[ilbert] R[ule]'s Preface—"It is unaccountable," says he, "that in a matter that salvation does so much depend upon, in the opinion of Prelatists, they should lay so much stress (as commonly they do) on the opinions of men, and the testimonies of the ancient Church, seeing all except Papists agree that matters of faith, and which salvation dependeth upon, must be determined only by Scripture, and that God speaking in his Word is the only judge in such controversies." Passing by many things observable in this discourse, you see this plainly in it—that there is no other way to account for the Prelatists making so much of, laying so great stress upon the testimonies of the ancient Church, but by making them Papists. Now, if this was particularly levelled against me, I shall only ask if even G[ilbert] R[ule] would not have laughed at me, if I had gone about to

nocentes innocentibus injuriam faciunt, illi patiuntur injuriam qui facere se credunt.—Ep. 59, p. 134.

[1] Acts xxiv. 5. [2] Acts ii. 13. [3] Matt. xi. 19.
[4] John vii. 20. [5] Matt. xii. 24.

prove by texts of Scripture that such and such were the principles of the Cyprianic age with regard to Church government. If it was levelled generally against all advocates for Episcopacy, then it falls to G[ilbert] R[ule]'s share to maintain that never Prelatic advocate attempted to find Episcopacy in the Scriptures, or that the cause of Episcopacy is the worse for having the plain testimonies of the ancients to assist Scripture in proving it—both tasks pretty pleasant as I take them. The jealousy thus started in the preface is more warmly pursued in the book. Let us try with what success.

III.—Secondly, then, for proving that there was proper Episcopacy in St Cyprian's time, I insisted on this for one argument, [that by the principles of that age every Bishop was the principle of unity to all the Christians within his district, wherein, for the most part, there were many Presbyters, as at Rome, forty-six, &c. He was the head, and all the rest—Presbyters, as well as others—were members of the body, &c.[1] All I am now concerned for is to purge it of Popery; for G[ilbert] R[ule] has told his reader, "That this very argument is fully, with as much strength, managed by the Papists for the Pope's universal headship over the Christian Church."[2] And that "the Pope must be the centre of unity among Bishops, is indeed the native conclusion of the argument."[3] And again, "indeed this argument destroyeth the parity of Bishops which he pleadeth for, (I pleaded then for a parity among Bishops, as G[ilbert] R[ule] confesses,) as well as Presbyters, and its native conclusion is, we must either have the Papacy over the Church or anarchy in it."[4] Now, had G[ilbert] R[ule] shewn either that there was no such principle received in St Cyprian's time, or that my inference from it was not necessary (tasks too hard for him or any man alive), he had said something to the purpose. But to make my argument infer the Papacy is more than what is most surprizing. Did ever Papist reason at this rate? Every Bishop in St Cyprian's time was the principle of unity to his own Church; *ergo*, the Bishop of Rome was the principle of unity to the Church Catholic? If G[ilbert] R[ule] knows the man, (for

[1] See Prin. Cyp. Age, p. 18, &c. &c.
[2] Cyp. Bp. Exd. sect. 36, p. 31.
[3] *Ibid.* sect. 32, p. 42.
[4] *Ibid.* sect. 35, p. 45.

my part I know him not,) he may tell him from me, that he seems not to be nice about consequences. The Pope's universal headship can no more follow from every Bishop's being the principle of unity to his own diocese, than from the Presbyterian Minister of Currie's[1] being the principle of unity to the Presbyterian congregation in that parish. In short, I did (as I still think) effectually prove, that the principles of the Cyprianic age stood in direct opposition to the Pope's supremacy.[2] This G[ilbert] R[ule] knew very well, and could not deny it.[3] No reason, therefore, to think that it was (the *intentio operantis*) my design to establish the Pope's universal headship. As little reason to say that (the *intentio operis*) the tendency of my argument made for the Pope, unless G[ilbert] R[ule] inclines to maintain that a particular Bishop cannot be the principle of unity to a particular Church, unless there be an universal Bishop to be principle of unity to the Church universal. Now this I take to be a task too hard for all the Papists and Presbyterians in Christendom.

IV.—Thirdly, another argument I insisted on, was, that by the principles then received, whatever the Jewish High Priest was to the other Priests and Levites, &c. every particular Christian Bishop was the same to the Presbyters and Deacons, &c. within his own district.[4] And having proved this by unanswerable arguments, I added that the names Priest, Priesthood, Altar, Sacrifice, &c.—so much in use in those times, amounted to a pregnant argument, that it was then believed that the Christian hierarchy in every particular Church was copied from the Jewish. Little did I dread to be saluted a Papist for such reasoning. But there was no other thing to do the job. "I see," says G[ilbert] R[ule], "the learned author (I thank him for the irony) is very unhappy in stumbling upon Popish arguments; and he can say little for his Bishop but what they say for their Pope; and it is evident that the Papists from this medium, argue with much more shew of reason," &c.[5] and a little after, "I cannot but still observe how much the

[1] [A parish within a short distance from Edinburgh, which used to be served by one of the Professors in the University of Edinburgh.—E.]

[2] Prin. Cyp. Age, from p. 38 to p. 39. [3] Cyp. Bp. Exd. sect. 33, p. 42.

[4] Prin. Cyp. Age, p. 44, 49. [5] Cyp. Bp. Exd. sect. 34, p. 43.

Papists owe him, not only for their Pope, but for their unbloody sacrifice," &c.[1] And now, without controversy, I am a rank Jesuit. The Papists are in my debt for both Pope and mass; and if I am for the Popish mass—I am for transubstantiation; and he who is for that may be for any thing. But to be short—was it possible that G[ilbert] R[ule] was in good earnest here? If he was, he should have at least looked a little better about him before he had involved St Cyprian and all his contemporaries in the same guilt with me; for I will take my oath on it, so far as I am for the mass, they were my masters; or rather, if their using the terms, Priest, Altar, Sacrifice, &c., can be made an argument for the Popish mass, the Papists have not me, but G[ilbert] R[ule] to thank for it; for I do sincerely protest I am not able to make an argument of it; but I cannot allow myself to think that G[ilbert] R[ule] was serious in this charge of *massing*. I am rather willing to believe he designed it for banter, and I am content to pass it for such, and not give it the hard name of a malicious suggestion. Well,

V.—But whatever comes of the mass, are not the Papists indebted to me for their Pope? My advice to G[ilbert] R[ule] is, that he would even acknowledge that he intended this for banter too, but not against me, but against the Papists; for if I understand anything of mine own argument, it smites the Pope under the fifth rib; that is, it shews irrefragably that by the principles of the Cyprianic age the Papists cannot draw an argument from Aaron to the Bishop of Rome, or any universal Bishop whatsoever. For if, by the principles of that age, every particular Bishop was the same to his own Church that Aaron was to the National Church of the Jews, that is, an High Priest without any visible superior; then by those principles, we have as many Aarons, as many High Priests, acknowledging no visible superior, as we have particular Bishops of particular Churches, and by unquestionable consequence, no room left for one Aaron to *highpriest* it over the Church Catholic. If G[ilbert] R[ule] would have more to this purpose, he may consult just such another Papist as I am, (as to principle I mean,) namely the admirable Mr Dodwell, in his

[1] Cyp. Bp. Exd. p. 44.

excellent discourse concerning "the One Altar and the One Priesthood;"[1] where he may find the Pope's pretensions solidly sent packing by this same very argument; but

VI.—Fourthly, the next stretch (and the last I shall take notice of at present) G[ilbert] R[ule] has made to force me into the Pope's service, is of all the most wonderful. When I came to consider how every particular Bishop stood related to the Church Catholic, I proceeded by steps. The first was, that by the principles of the Cyprianic age all Bishops were Colleagues, and made up one College;[2] a step, methinks, considering what I have discoursed above,[3] the Pope will give me small thanks for; but the second, as I thought, was yet more directly levelled against him—it was, that as "the one Bishop was the principle of unity to a particular Church, so this College of Bishops was the principle of unity to the Catholic Church, and Jesus Christ was the only principle of unity to the College of Bishops." Subjoining thus to the person my letter was directed to, "I hope, not being a Romanist, you will not require that I should prove the highest step of this gradation."[4] My meaning, I thought, was so plain, that no ingenuous reader could readily mistake it, viz. that the College of Bishops, by the principles of the Cyprianic age, had no visible superior: There was no Bishop of Bishops—no universal Bishop—no intermedial step between the College of Bishops and the invisible head of the Church. I used not many words, indeed, but then I expressed my mind almost in the very terms of a very ancient author, in a testimony of his frequently insisted on by Protestant writers as being very pat and peremptory against the Pope's supremacy—a testimony proposed by Bellarmine himself as an objection against the Pope's supremacy, and which he could not answer I believe, no, not to his own satisfaction. The testimony runs to this purpose in Scottish—"The Divine order of Bishops is the first of those orders which see God, and it is also the highest and the last; for therein is finished and completed the whole contexture of the Christian hierarchy; for as we see the whole hierarchy terminated in Jesus, so every particular one is terminated in its own Divine Bishop." You have the

[1] Cap. 9, sect. 6, 7, 8, 9.
[2] Principles Cyp. Age, p. 94.
[3] *Vide supra*, cap. 6, sect. 17, &c.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 94.

author's own words on the margin ;[1] and all that Bellarmine says to it is, that " Dionysius (the pretended Areopagite, for he is the author,) speaks only of the order, not of the jurisdiction of Bishops"—he has not one word more,[2] that is, in effect, he says just nothing at all, or rather worse than nothing ; for it had been better to have been silent than to have thought to have warded off the blow of such a plain testimony by such a far-fetched and unapplicable distinction.

VII.—Thus was my plot laid, and never man securer than I against suspicions of Popery upon account of such a passage in my book ; and I do verily believe I might have escaped, arrant Papist that I was, had it not fallen to G[ilbert] R[ule]'s share to unmask me. Take the surprizing discovery in his own words—" Here I observe (says he) the discourse is about a visible head, or principle of unity to the Church, which cannot be ascribed to Christ, (and who ascribed it to him ?) wherefore this is wholly impertinent, (wholly impertinent to exclude a Pope !) or if it have any sense, it tendeth to make his reader a Romanist, whom he supposeth not to be one already." Why ? " For if the particular and Catholic Church have a visible principle of unity, and that which he maketh to be the uniting principle, have nothing that is visible to make them one among themselves ; they who can receive his doctrine about a principle of unity will see a necessity of a Pope to unite the Bishops, as much as of a Bishop to unite the Presbyters." (All this is so deep that I confess I cannot see to the bottom of it ; but go we on with G[ilbert] R[ule]). " I desire to know of him (adds he a little after) why he thinks the Romanists will put him to prove the highest step of this gradation more than Protestants will ? (Because it excludes the Pope). Doth any of them deny Christ to be the principle of unity to the Church ? (The principle of unity immediately next to the College of Bishops, they do all.) They only make the Pope his Vicar in this ; (that is what I just now said, they make him a mediate principle of unity between Christ and the

[1] Οὐκοῦν ἡ Θέια των Ἱεραρχων τάξις, πρώτη μέν ἐστι των θεοπτικων τάξεων, ἀκροτὰτη δὲ καὶ ἐσχατη πάλιν ἡ αὐτη, καὶ γὰρ εἰς ἀυτην αποτελεῖται καὶ ἀποπληρουται πᾶσα τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἱεραρχιας ἡ διακοσμησις. Ὡς γας απασαν Ἱεραρχίαν ὁρωμεν εἰς τὸν Ἰησουν αποπραιουμενην, ὅυτως ἑκάστην εις τον οικειον ενθεον Ἱεράρχην.—Dionysii, Lib. de Eccles. Hierarch. cap. v. p. 379, tom. i. Fol. Ed. Antverp.

[2] Dico Dionysium loqui de ordine Episcoporum, non de jurisdictione. Bellarm. De Rom. Pont. Lib. 4, cap. 24.

College of Bishops; and why do they so?) because they think such an one is needful in the Church, who is visibly conversant among men. (And what if herein they are mistaken? No, they cannot. Why?) And doth not our author suppose the same necessity of such a visible head till he come to the College of Bishops? (Yes, according to the principles of the Cyprianic age.) And he leaveth them headless, that is, without a visible head. (Just as St Cyprian and all his contemporaries did.) Wherefore it may be rationally concluded that this doctrine is either Popish or palpably absurd."[1] Now if it must needs be one of the two, even let it be the latter, and so I may be a Protestant still. Consider, reader, if thou hast not here profound speculations. How willing is G[ilbert] R[ule] to have me reconciled to the Pope! Now, charitable Sir, even do me the kindness to reconcile me to the Presbyterians too. You are able, if you please, to make this very book I am now writing, the happy instrument of the peace, when it comes to your hands; for if you continue of this vein of reasoning, whereof we have just now had a specimen, what can be too hard for you? And so I have done with mine own purgation; but not with my undertaking. Proceed we therefore,

VIII.—II. To consider a little, the grounds of the common clamour raised by our Presbyterian brethren against the advocates for Episcopacy, as if they were friends generally to the Papacy. That there is such a bold calumny zealously and industriously propagated among the people by the advocates for Presbytery, is so notorious as to need no proof. Never a book published by them but has it over and over, and very much stress laid upon it. It is not to be doubted that it is more frequently in their sermons, and in their private conferences. I am best acquainted with their printed books, and so far as I have been able to advert, the grounds of the calumny may be reduced to two. 1. That the Prelatic advocates make use of Popish arguments, or borrow their arguments from the Papists. 2. That Episcopacy proves the way to the Papacy—the same reason that raises a Bishop over Presbyters with equal force tends to raise a

[1] Cyp. Bish. Examined, sect. 61, p. 89, 90.

Pope over the Bishops. These two grounds I shall briefly examine, for undeceiving the people.

IX.—1. The first is, that the Prelatic advocates borrow their arguments for establishing Episcopacy from the Papists. This plea has been insisted on by many; but by none more zealously (and I may add, loathsomely) than our three now famous living advocates for Presbytery—Mr Jameson, G[ilbert] R[ule], and Mr Forrester, in their three late books, all published within these three years; and none more heavily loaded with this mighty prejudice than the worthy Doctor Monro, for writing his excellent "Enquiry into the New Opinions," &c. Jameson is at him with tooth and nail upon this very head, in his preface to his "Nazianzeni Querela," the first of the three books mentioned. "They (the Prelatists, says he) use to english Romish sophisms ——as, to name no more, is the constant practice of A[lexander] M[onro], D.D." And how frequently is he at it in his book? "The Jesuits are his masters."[1] "The Protestants for ever silence and baffle the Jesuits and their progeny, D[octor] M[onro], and such companions."[2] "D[octor] [Monro] would patronize Petavius the Jesuit against both Protestants and Fathers."[3] "To see the Reformed conquering and the Jesuits foiled, some are much pained, and in special D[octor] M[onro]."[4] "D[octor] M[onro] follows his master Bellarmine in this wretched detorsion," &c.[5] "Bellarmine herein is followed only by some of the more impudent of his brethren, as Bayly the Jesuit, and Petavius, and last of all appears their perpetual shadow, D[octor] M[onro]."[6] "Bellarmine objects also, as doth his ape, D[octor] M[onro]," &c.[7] "The Jesuits and their follower, D[octor] M[onro] dream they find a fine distinction," &c.[8] "Most dishonest therefore is the conduct of the Loyolites, and of others of the Prelatists, their associates in this matter; but above all men, that of D[octor] M[onro]."[9] "Here again we find D[octor] M[onro] at his old filching trade, transcribing Petavius," &c.[10] "Nay, what was the Doctor but a giddy Papaturient?"[11] "He proposed Popish queries,[12] as is his constant practice—this wretched paralogism he borrows from a

[1] P. 144. [2] P. 145. [3] P. 154. [4] P. 162.
[5] P. 178. [6] P. 179. [7] P. 180. [8] P. 185.
[9] P. 188. [10] P. 197. [11] P. 198. [12] P. 207.

Jebusuite, (this is sheer wit) Cornelius à Lapide."[1] "In a word, the Romishness of all his cavils is manifest."[2] "Nay, Jameson does not leave the Doctor till he circumcises him and makes a Jew of him."[3] "For whatever contradictions were in his character, it mattered not, if he was black enough." This is but a sample of Jameson's courtesies to the Doctor. Indeed this author spares no man. The incomparable D[octor] Pearson, sometime Bishop of Chester, has published "Opinions much fitter for a Jewish Cabalist or Romish Traditionary than a Protestant Doctor."[4] "The admirable Mr Dodwell (who has alone written more good reason against the Pope than all the Scottish Presbyterians since that day that Mr Andrew Melvin came from the feet of Theodore Beza, till this very day, have done) is one of the fiery zealots who, sometime or other, will no doubt throw off the mask and profess himself a Romanist."[5] "Nay, the Romanists had despaired long ere now in a very material case, if these two (Pearson and Dodwell) had not used prodigious endeavours to keep them in heart, and gratify them by reconciling contradictions for fixing the singular successors of Peter."[6] "Doctor Beveridge is even worse than a Papist, for he has published falsehoods so gross that even the more ingenuous Romanists are ashamed of them."[7] Well, if Doctor Monro was, and the author of the "Fundamental Charter," is a Papist, as the same Mr Jameson confidently insinuates in his preface,[8] you see they are clubbed with very good company. Indeed, not with these three great men only, but with the whole body of the Prelatists; for believe this man of charity, and the whole party "give too evident signs of their separating from the body of the Reformed Churches, and in too many things they but too nigh approach the Romanists. Their government and hierarchic scale is one and the same, save one Roundle with that of Rome. All their arguments they bring either from Scripture or antiquity, are learned from Bellarmine and such Romanists, and admit no less improvement for the evincing of the Papal authority than the Episcopals have made thereof for the establishing of their Prelatic power."[9] And twenty times more to this purpose

[1] P. 236. [2] P. 237. [3] P. 237. [4] P. 121. [5] P. 101.
[6] P. 220. [7] P. 212. [8] P. 67. [9] P. 99.

may be found in that brave book, entitled "Nazianzeni Querela et Votum Justum."[1]

X.—Next appeared G[ilbert] R[ule]'s "Good Old Way Defended," written of set purpose against D[octor] M[onro]. And the very first words of it are—"It hath been observed by some who have read this book, (D[octor] M[onro]'s 'Enquiry into the new Opinions, &c.') that the author hath been much beholden to some of the Jesuits and other Papists, not only for his arguments, but even for his invectives, &c.[2] He (D[octor] M[onro]) seemeth to take the same liberty to himself of speaking all the ill he can devise of Presbyterians, that the author of 'Pax Vobis' doth against Protestants of all sorts.[3] He hath borrowed his account of the Apostolate from the Papists. It is not his own."[4] Many such suggestions are in this book;[5] but for brevity, I shall only mention one more. D[octor] M[onro] had insisted on this argument for Episcopacy, that we have the same (if not better) evidence of its having been the government of the Church ever since the Apostles' days, than we have for the canon of the Scripture. The argument he pressed home, indeed, and withal very modestly as any man may see in his own book.[6] Well, how did G[ilbert] R[ule] answer this argument? Did he offer to shew that there was either better or other evidence for the canon of the Scripture, *e. g.* that the Epistle to the Hebrews, or the Epistle of James, or St Peter's Second, or St John's Second and Third, or Jude's Epistle, or the Apocalypse belong to the canon, than their Episcopacy? Nothing like it. Did he deny D[octor] M[onro]'s inference? Neither was he so hardy as to venture on that. What then did he say? Take it in his own words. "I have heard," says he, "that A[lexander] M[onro], D. D. hath been jealoused as inclining to Popery, though his accusers failed in their probation. He here (and in some other passages of this book) seemeth to prove what they could not make out." And then he goes on to tell how Stapleton and many other of the "Romish Doctors use the same argument: and it is observable that Popery and Prelacy must be defended by the

[1] See p. 103, 106, 16, 49, 207, et *passim*.
[2] P. 1. [3] P. 7. [4] P. 91. [5] See p. 10, 11, 92, 149, 152.
[6] P. 134, 235, 136.

same arguments." And this is indeed all that is intelligible in his whole answer to the Doctor's unanswerable argument.[1]

XI.—More zealously yet is the Doctor's Popery discovered by Mr Forrester in his "Hierarchical Bishop's Claim." He is at him for it in the very second page of his preface. "The Doctor's 'Enquiry into the new Opinions,' &c. is of such a virulent tincture and Popish composure, that the author might seem rather a person in some of the Popish orders than any bearing the character of a Protestant minister." Indeed this gentleman's talent at discovering the Popery of Prelatists is extraordinary.[2] But I shall only instance in one effort more of it, which to me seems somewhat more than wonderful; and were I G[ilbert] R[ule], I would burn the "Good Old Way Defended," and resolve never again to publish a line to the world; for never man farther out-done by another than he by T[homas] F[orrester]. Would you know wherein? why T[homas] F[orrester] has found D[octor] M[onro] a rank, rotten, reigning Papist, where G[ilbert] R[ule] was not able to perceive that he was so. D[octor] M[onro] shewing that Matt. xx. 25, and the parallel texts do not make for Presbyterian parity, used this as one argument, "that our Lord did that himself among his Disciples which now he commanded them to do to one another; and therefore the doing of it towards one another in obedience to our Saviour's command could not infer a parity, unless it may be blasphemously inferred that Christ and his Apostles were equal."[3] Now, G[ilbert] R[ule], I say, was so blind as not to discover the horns of the beast here;[4] but T[homas] F[orrester] has seen them (and he might have seen the cloven foot too, had he had a mind for it) in most ample form. In this argument of the Doctor's he has seen stark staring Romanism, and he has seen it too most sadly and senselessly brought in and made subservient to the Doctor's purposes. "It is but a poor and mean answer and reason of the Doctor's—a notion he is beholden for to his Popish masters." And after two or three miscited Latin verses—"There is no doubt that the

[1] See p. 141, 142, 143.

[2] See Review of Dr Monro's Pleadings, p. 20, 28, 40, 44, 64, 70, 109, &c.

[3] P. 18. [4] See Good Old Way Defended, sect. 4; sect. 2, 3, 4.

Doctor has as much exposed and baffled his own judgment and reputation in this thrasonic weak answer as in any thing else——It seems the Doctor is so highly in love with this Popish notion and evasion, that he has not concerned himself to take notice what baffling replies Protestant Divines have returned to it, wherein they have discovered what an insipid, impertinent evasion it is to save the Pope's mitre from the stroke of our Lord's prohibition—— I know not if it be true that this man rode in the Pope's guards; but sure I am he fences fiercely for his mitre—— the Pope's holiness has a fair plea from the venerable Doctor——I dare promise him the Pope's approbation of his commentary," &c.[1] And this, and such flat Billinsgate stuff as this, is all that is comprehensible in T[homas] F[orrester]'s answer to the Doctor's argument. Whatever he has more, is as robust and staring nonsense as ever disgraced a press. Thus we have had three samples of T[homas] F[orrester]'s abilities; one of his skill in antiquity;[2] another of his dexterity at stating the main controversy;[3] and now, a third of his nimbleness at reasoning; but I hope the world ere long shall have a fuller account of him from another hand, to which I refer him.

XII.—Thus the reader may see what stress is laid by our brethren upon this mighty plea, that we Prelatists borrow our arguments for establishing Prelacy from the Papists. I had the luck to stumble on Popish arguments. But D[octor] M[onro] was " an avowed plagiary," (as Jameson calls him) a " perpetual shadow," a " constant ape of the Jesuits." And yet after all, praised be God, Doctor Monro, as he lived, so he died, as far from Popery as from Presbytery; and I hope, with God's grace, to do so too. And as for the plea, I shall only observe about it, 1. That it is not necessarily true; 2. That it is certainly senseless; and 3. That it is monstrously shameless.

XIII.—1. It is not necessarily true that the Prelatic advocates borrow their arguments from the Papists. Dare our Presbyterian brethren deny that many of the advocates for Prelacy in Britain, within these hundred and twenty years, have been men as learned, as well seen in both Scriptures and

[1] Review of Dr Monro's Pleadings, p. 18, 19, 20.
[2] *Supra*, cap. 11, sect. 40. [3] Cap. 4, sect. 19, &c.

Fathers as any Papist of them all? Dare they say that the Papists have better copies of either Scriptures or Fathers than the Protestant Prelatists have had? Or will they say that the Protestant advocates for Prelacy wanted heads to form arguments from plain texts of Scripture or plain testimonies of antiquity, as well as Papists can do? Why then borrow their arguments from the Papists, when they had opportunities and abilities to derive them more immediately, and thereby more securely, from the true fountains? In short, our British Prelatists have been so far from needing help from Papists in the controversies concerning Church government, that they have managed these controversies incomparably better and more accurately than any Papist I have seen. And without an extraordinary impudence, our Presbyterian brethren cannot deny that the Prelatists have been the men in Britain who have most learnedly, most irresistibly, and upon the best and surest principles overthrown the very foundations of Popery. And here I might enter into a large field of discourse, but I will not; only, in a word, I desire to know who were the chief champions for the Protestant cause in Britain for some years not long since expired. Were they either Scottish or English Presbyterians? And as for Doctor Monro (for whose sake I insist so much on this ridiculous plea) there is not an argument in all his book which he might not have had, though he had never in his life read one line of a Popish author. He had head, and he had opportunity to have collected them all from the true fountains—the Holy Scriptures and the Records of the primitive Church. And had he been for borrowing, he might have borrowed enough from sincere Protestant authors; particularly that argument (so ridiculously attacked by G[ilbert] R[ule] with the imputation of Popery) that we have the same (if not better) evidence for Episcopacy than we have for the canon of the Scriptures, &c. The Doctor might have had (if he was obliged to borrow) from the admirable Mr Dodwell in his "Dissertations on Irenæus,"[1] where it is so digested and prosecuted, as neither G[ilbert] R[ule], nor T[homas] F[orrester], nor W[illiam] J[ameson], none of the tribe, no not the General Assembly, shall ever be able to answer it. But this is not all, for,

[1] Dissert. 1, sect. 35, &c.

XIV.—2. Granting this plea were true, yet it is certainly most senseless. For, say that we borrowed arguments from the Papists, what are they the worse for that, if otherwise they are good? I thought the value of an argument had depended on its intrinsic force; and if it had enough of that, it mattered not who had used it.[1] And how can the borrowing of an argument from Papists infer that the borrower is inclined to Popery? St Paul borrowed arguments from Aratus[2] and Epimenides,[3] two heathen poets. Was he therefore an heathen poet? Must every man be a pagan philosopher who borrows an argument from Plato or Cicero to prove the soul immortal? Must all Christians be devils, because (as they) the devil has sometimes confessed our Saviour to be the Son of God? Come, gentlemen, you, W[illiam] J[ameson] and you T[homas] F[orrester,] and you G[ilbert] R[ule], supposing you were engaged with a Socinian, concerning the Divinity or the satisfaction of our Lord, would you carefully abstain from all arguments which at any time had been used by any Papist for establishing these great and fundamental articles of our religion? If you did so, methinks you should make an admirable congress of it. If not, what could you have to say to the Socinian, when he should tell you, fye for shame, gentlemen, are you Papists? Is not that a Popish argument? Suppose, again, you were to write against the Belgic Remonstrants concerning irrespective decrees, or the irresistibility of grace, or so, would you only use such arguments as had never been used by Dominican or Jansenist? Or, suppose the scuffle to be between you and some of the disciples of Erastus concerning the intrinsic power of the Church, would you set aside every text of Scripture, and every testimony of antiquity, and every reasoning that has been insisted on by Papists and Prelatists in their management of the controversy? I say Prelatists, for by the natural consequences of the plea we are now considering, you are bound, as you would avoid

[1] Henderson "told the King that he used Popish arguments," &c.; and the King answers, Pap. 2, sect. 5—"To say that an argument is ill, because the Papists use it—or that such a thing is good, because it is the custom of some of the Reformed Churches—cannot weigh with me, until you prove these to be infallible, or those to maintain no truth."

[2] Acts xvii. 28. [3] Tit. i. 12.

the scandal of Prelacy, to avoid all arguments used by Prelatists for asserting the intrinsic power of the Church. Nay, you are bound, for anything I can see, to renounce the intrinsic power of the Church. For, blessed be God, all Prelatists are not latitudinarians. There are (as there have always been) at this day in Britain, Prelatists, as learned, as pious, as conscientious, as true sons of the Church, as sincere Christians, (Christians that can bear the cross for Christ's sake) as any within the island; who are as resolute, as zealous, as much concerned for the intrinsic power of the Church, and upon as good (I may say much better) principles as any Presbyterian, not in Scotland only, but in Christendom. By these hints, gentlemen, you may perceive how senseless your plea is, and you cannot be the men you pretend to be, if you do not see that my reasoning might have gone much higher. But I proceed,

XV.—3. As this your plea is ridiculously senseless, so it is monstrously shameless. What can be more impudent than to make that a mighty scandal in us which you yourselves do every day practice with the fullest freedom, without any signs of remorse—without any symptoms of hesitation? Tell me, upon your ingenuity, from whom you have your arguments for defensive arms? for resisting sovereign princes, the powers that are of God, and immediately subordinate to God? for all your king-killing and king-deposing doctrines? Is every argument used by Mr Rutherford in his "Lex Rex," purely of Scottish Presbyterian invention? Is there never so much as an hint of any one of them all in the writings of Bellarmine, or Suarez, or Mariana? Or were these three zealous, orthodox, over-sea, Protestant Divines?[1] Is there never a grain of Jesuitish mixture (not to mention your covenants) in the "Act of the West Kirk," nor in "Jus Populi Vindicatum," nor in "Naphtali," nor in the "Hind let Loose," &c. Has not your famous historian Calderwood[2] recorded a very pretty story concerning "John Craig and his Concluding Argument for the Lawfulness of Dethroning Kings;"—"This goodly argument, that

[1] Is there no affinity nor consanguinity between "Samuel's [the Christian name of Rutherford] Letters," and the "Divinity of the Popish Mysticks?"

[2] Cald. Hist. p. 37, 38.

in the year 1553, he was in the University of Bononia, where he heard a learned and famous man, Thomas de Finola, Rector of the University, sustain the deposing principles, to the great satisfaction of the whole University, and particularly of Vincentius de Placentia, who affirmed the assertion to be most true and certain, agreeable both with the law of God and man." And has Calderwood not told you that none opposed Craig, but Court flatterers? Now who can doubt that, especially at that time the University of Bononia (a city within the Pope's own territories, and to which the Pope, for the greater security to his own interests, called the Council of Trent, much about that time that Craig was there)[1] was a Protestant University, and Thomas de Finola and Vincentius de Placentia were two strict Scottish Presbyterians. But to return to our controversies concerning Church government. I might ask you divers questions, gentlemen; but that I may neither weary myself nor you, I shall only propose three.—

XVI.—From whom had you your distinction which has been so useful to you, and done you so many services; this, I mean, that Bishops and Presbyters do not make two different orders, but only two degrees of the same order of the Priesthood? How had you ever had the benefit of Blondel's apology for Jerome's opinion, if he had not had this distinction? Now, from whom had he it? From whom had all of your party it, but from the Popish schoolmen? Again, do not all of you, with all your might, reject our position, that Bishops, as making a peculiar College, an order distinct from the order of Presbyters, are the successors of the Apostles in the supreme power Ecclesiastical? And what are your arguments for rejecting this our position? Do not you say that Apostles were not ordinary, but extraordinary pastors by special commission, and by consequence, such as could have no formal successors? Do not you say that Apostles could preach and found Churches all the world over, which Bishops cannot? That Apostles could write canonical books and were infallible, &c.: That they had the gifts of tongues, and miracles, and unlimited jurisdic-

[1] The Council, by the Pope's [Paul 3d.—E.] order, was removed from Trent to Bononia, anno 1547.—[It was afterwards restored to Trent by order of Julius 3d.—E.]

tion, &c. which Bishops cannot pretend to? Are not these, and such as these, the great differences you used to assign between Apostles and Bishops? And now, gentlemen, consider what you have on the margin,[1] and harden your foreheads and say they are not the Jesuit Bellarmine's own reasonings. My third instance you shall hear of by and by, when I have once stated your other plea, which is,

XVII.—2. That Prelacy proves the way to Papacy. The same reason that raises a Bishop above Presbyters may likewise raise an Archbishop over Bishops, and a Patriarch over Archbishops, and a Pope over Patriarchs, as Smectymnuus forms it.[2] This is a pretty old bug-bear. Beza (so far as I can learn) was the first man that set it on foot in Scotland.[3] Much about that same time (perhaps by Beza's influence too) Cartwright advanced it in England.[4] Almost no Presbyterian has omitted it since. Well could Mr Andrew Melvin set off such an argument. Well could he tell that the "Pope's head could not stand but upon Episcopal shoulders;" and "those who build the beast up to the neck, do well deserve to be called the parents of the monster,"[5] and twenty such witticisms. I might weary you,

[1] Bellarmine having laid down this position (for a reason we may hear of before we have done) that all Bishops have their jurisdiction not immediately from Christ but from the Pope, De Rom. Pont. lib. 4, cap. 24; he applies himself in cap. 24 to answer objections, and the first is, that *Bishops are the Apostles' successors; but the Apostles had their power immediately from Christ.* Now, to take his answer in his own words—"Episcopi non succedunt proprie Apostolis, quoniam Apostoli non fuerunt ordinarii, sed extraordinarii, et quasi delegati pastores, quibus non succeditur.——Nullam habent (Episcopi) partem veræ Apostolicæ auctoritatis; Apostoli poterant in toto terrarum orbe prædicare, et fundare Ecclesias; hoc non possunt Episcopi. Item Apostoli poterant scribere libros canonicos—hoc non possunt Episcopi. Apostoli habuerunt donum linguarum et miraculorum; non habent Episcopi. Apostoli in totam Ecclesiam habuerunt jurisdictionem; non habent Episcopi. Præterea non succeditur proprie nisi præcedenti. At simul fuerunt in Ecclesia Apostoli et Episcopi.

[2] P. 23.

[3] Epist. 79, to Knox, anno 1572.

[4] See Archbishop Whitgift's "Defence of the Answer to the Admonition," p. 380.

[5] At constat Papæ caput non aliis posse niti humeris, quam Episcopalibus. Et qui bestiam ad ipsum usque collum struunt, merito pro monstri parentibus habendi. Melvin contra Tilenum, cap. ix. sect. 11. Vide plura, cap. xi. sect. 4.; cap. xiii. sect. 12, 19. And upon this score he damns all the Fathers who seem to depose for Episcopacy, as smelling rankly of Popery, *e. g.* cap. vii. sect. 12. Quam piget, tædet, in Christi

gentlemen, (for to you, the three champions, I continue to direct my discourse) with citations from your authors to this purpose; but I need not—you cannot but be acquainted with your own books, which you yourselves have written; and you cannot but remember that you have been very careful (every one of you) that the people should not forget such a weighty argument against Prelacy. How often in one no very large book have you, Mr Jameson, put them in mind of it?[1] And you, G[ilbert] R[ule], have given the defiance to all the world to answer it.[2] Nor are you, T[homas] F[orrester], inferior to any of your sect in prosecuting such an useful argument after your way, that is, with very much spite, and very little sense.[3] Now, for answer,

XVIII.—1. This, gentlemen, is the third instance of your modesty, I promised to put you in mind of. For (to be short and plain) it is purely a sophism which you have borrowed from the Papists. Bellarmine has it as handsomely dressed, and as takingly set off, as ever any of you had it, as you may see by his own words on the margin.[4] Nicholas Saunders, in

Ecclesiæ regimine, Patres hos vestros pro principiis ponere? Quid non urgebit avaritiæ fucus ambitionis focus, Patrum hæ fæces Ecclesiæ veræ faces? And cap. xiv. sect. 35. Plutizat Papa, papizant patres patrizant posteri, &c. Nothing more frequent in him than such spiteful jingles.

[1] Mr Jameson in his Preface to his "Nazianzeni Querela," in the very title of his Introduction, and in more than twenty places in his book, repeats this argument. See book, p. 16, 49, 99, 100, 103, 104, 105, 111, 197, 207, 211, 213, 231, 237.

[2] G[ilbert] R[ule] is at it in every book. See "Good Old Way Defended," p. 4, 45, 79, 141. And in "Rational Defence of Nonconformity," p. 191, 192, he challenges Dr Stillingfleet or any man to answer it.

[3] Mr Forrester seems to have designed his Preface to his "Rectius Instruendum" for a continued repetition of this argument. "Mystery Babylon! Mystery Prelacy! What an abyss of deceit is here." And, "In short, our present testimony (viz. of Presbyterians against Prelacy) is the same with that of the witnesses against the beast. And our adversaries stand arraigned under Antichrist's banner, in the whole series at least, and complex farrago of their principles." It would be nauseous to transcribe the spite and nonsense he has vomited in his books in pursuance of this argument.

[4] His argument, that the Catholic Church should have one visible head runs thus:—Sexta ratio ducitur a simili. Recte in singulis locis singuli constituuntur Episcopi, qui cæteris omnibus ejus loci ministris et pastoribus præsint—Rursum in provinciis singulis recte constituuntur singuli metropolitani, qui suæ provinciæ Episcopis præsideant; et in majoribus urbibus Primates seu Patriarchæ, qui curam suscipiant ampliorem.—Æquum igitur est, ut sit etiam unus aliquis qui toti Ecclesiæ præsit, et cui Primates quoque

his book entitled "The Rock of the Church, wherein the Primacy of the Pope is proved," &c. printed at Louvain, anno 1567, (*i. e.* five years before Beza sent it to Scotland) has it. Take it in his own words. You have them chap. 2, p. 20—"If the whole militant Church (says he) be one certain particular body, of a certain administration and condition, it must needs follow that over the whole militant house of God, one only master and governor is set, whom we all ought to obey as our chief ruler on earth. And so by the superiority which experience sheweth to belong to one in every parish, (observe, gentlemen, how deep he lays the foundation of the argument, even in Presbytery itself,) we come by the force of the same reason to acknowledge one chief pastor in the great parish of this world, of which kind St Peter was, whilst he lived." Nay, neither was he the first Papist that used it. It was one of their first rate arguments for the Pope's supremacy, when John Calvin wrote his "Institutions," (as we shall learn by and by) which was long before the fatal controversy between the Prelatists and Presbyterians was begun. Nor do I doubt but you may find it in many Popish authors, who wrote before the Reformation of religion was set on foot by Martin Luther. And now I would ask with what countenance you can insist on such an argument according to your own principles? How can you be so *papaturient* (to use one of your own terms) as thus to borrow an argument from the Papists? But this is not all, for,

XIX.—2. You, who are so learned in the controversies about Church government, cannot but have observed that this very same argument (at least upon the matter) has been as much insisted on by your brethren the Independ-

et Patriarchæ subjiciantur. Nam si monarchicus principatus convenit uni civitati, uni provinciæ, uni nationi; cur non etiam Ecclesiæ universæ? Quæ ratio postulat, ut partes monarchice, totum autem aristocratice gubernetur? Deinde quibus rationibus probatur, debere unum Episcopum præesse parochis, Archiepiscopum Episcopis, Patriarcham Archiepiscopis; iisdem probari potest, unum Pontificem summum præesse debere patriarchis. Cur necessarius est in singulis Ecclesiis unus Episcopus, nisi quia una civitas non potest bene regi, nisi ab uno? At etiam una est Ecclesia universa. Item, cur unus requiritur Archiepiscopus, nisi ut contineantur Episcopi in unitate, ut dissolvantur eorum lites, ut ad synodum convocentur; ut cogantur fungi suo munere? at propter easdem causas requiritur unus qui Archiepiscopis et Primatibus omnibus præsit.—De Rom. Pont. lib. i. cap. 9.

ents and other sectarians against your scheme, as by you against ours. How often have they told you that your subordination of classes has as natural a tendency towards Popish tyranny as our subordination of officers? No doubt you have seen Doctor Heylin's "Aerius Redivivus." Now, I remember, he somewhere there[1] tells you that the latter separatists, (the Brownists, &c.) who upon the very principles of Cartwright, and the rest of the Nonconformists in England, did separate from these their genuine parents, he tells us, I say, that these new separatists "as to forms of government did declare thus, that as they which live under the tyranny of the Pope and Cardinals worship the very beast itself, and they which live under the government of Archbishops and Bishops, do worship the image of the beast, so that they which willingly obey the Reformed Presbytery of Pastors, Elders, and Deacons, worship the shadow of that image." I can as little doubt of your having seen Martin-mar-priest his "Arraignment of Persecution,"[2] published anno 1645. Now that brave author does even entertain you with the same civil compliments with which you use to entertain your betters. Would you have a sample of him? Making mention of you, he chooses to describe you thus—"He hath acquired the name of Sir John Presbyter, in truth he is a Priest, the son of a Bishop, grandchild to the Pope, and the devil is his great-grandfather, all murderers and butchers of God's people."[3] Again, he says of Sir John, that he was "sanctified from his mother's womb, the Synodian Whore of Babylon."[4] And, "——His godfathers and godmothers in his baptism, wherein he was made a member of the Assembly, and an inheritor of the kingdom of Antichrist."[5] Once more—"As for Sir John Presbyter this Court hath voted him to the unclean, filthy, impious, unholy, dark, and worldly dungeon, called, *jure humano*, there with Archbishops, and Bishops, &c. the grand Presbyters, his forefathers."[6]—Farther, some of you, I am confident, have seen a sermon preached by Peter Sterray, on Jeremiah xvi. 14, 15, entitled "England's deliverance from Northern Presbytery, compared with its deliverance from the Roman Papacy," dedicated to the supreme autho-

[1] Cap. 11, num. 1.

[2] [This work was addressed to the Westminster Assembly during its session.—E.] [3] P. 22. [4] P. 25. [5] P. 33. [6] P. 45.

rity in the Commonwealth of England, the High Court of Parliament, printed at Leith by Evan Tyler, anno 1652. Now that gentleman spake his mind very freely as well as Martin. In the epistle dedicatory he tells his patrons, "that the same spirit which lay in the polluted bed of Papacy may meet them in the perfumed bed of Presbytery." And in the sermon itself,[1] he first adduces six agreements between Popery and Presbytery, and then four differences, in each whereof the Presbyterian is worse than the Papist. I remember likewise to have seen a book bearing this title, "Rome ruined by Whitehall, or the Papal Crown demolished; containing a confutation of the three degrees of Popery, viz. Papacy, Prelacy, and Presbytery, answerable to the triple crown of the three-headed Cerberus the Pope, with his threefold hierarchies aforesaid, &c. By John Spittlehouse, Assistant to the Marshal-General of the Army, under the command of his Excellency the Lord General Fairfax." Printed at London (and with an Imprimatur too) by Thomas Paine, &c. anno 1650.

XX.—I doubt not but it might be easy to any man who should think fit to employ himself that way, to cite multitudes of such books; but I shall content myself with other three, particularly the dissenting brethren, (the Independents,) in their "Reasons against the Westminster Assembly's Third Proposition concerning Presbyterial Government," do, no less than four or five times, pretend that the Presbyterians, especially in that part of their scheme which establishes the subordination of classes, proceed upon Prelatic, and by consequence upon Popish principles. And Thomas Hooker, sometime Pastor of the Church at Hartford, upon Connecticut in New-England, in his "Survey of the Summ of Church Discipline," &c. published at London anno 1648, insists very often on the *Popery* of *Presbytery* *e g.* Part I, cap. 9, p. 97, he plainly tells that the Presbyterian model is "merely the usurpation of that man of sin, or a preparation to bring him in, or a remainder of him not fully cast out, not the natural and native institution of our Saviour," &c.; and *ibid.* p. 123, he sets himself to shew that Presbytery paves the way for Prelacy; and now, gentlemen, you yourselves use to contend as warmly as any

[1] P. 16, &c.

men, that Prelacy paves the way for the Papacy ; nay, cap. 15, p. 251 ; " in my retired meditations (says he) I could not but observe a secret kind of Divine dispensation that the Presbyterian way must need the help of a point of Popery, not only as a pillar by which it must be underpropped, but as a foundation or head corner stone, upon which the whole building must rest and be erected." Twenty more such testimonies might be adduced from him and his brethren.

XXI.—My third book, I am sure, must be no stranger to any of you. A Scottish book it is, bearing this title—" Protesters no Subverters, and Presbytery no Papacy." I need not give you the history of it ; you, G[ilbert] R[ule,] no doubt, can give it as well as any man. Now, how frequently do the Protesters in that little book insist on this way of reasoning, that the submission to the judicatories of the Church required by the Resolutioners was a plain step of Popish tyranny ? they say, that to require such a submission, or pretend that it is so essential to a Presbyterian government, is to " introduce into the house of God a Kirk government that is too nigh of kin to that which is Popish, Prelatical and tyrannical ;"[1] that to say, that without such submission, unity and order cannot be continued in the Kirk, is the very argument and language of the advocates of the See of Rome whilst they " plead for the Pope's visible headship," &c. ;[2] and "will our brethren, under a pretext of order, destroy Christian liberty, and bring in Popish tyranny ?"[3]—" Was there justice or necessity to persecute all those who did plead and bear testimony against the open breach of a sworn covenant and engagement ? we know no precedent or parallel that our brethren can shew for this, unless they fetch it from times of Popery and Prelacy."[4]—" This submission is Prelatical, and introduceth a lordly and absolute power and dominion in the Church of God over the flock and ministers of Jesus Christ," &c. ;[5] nay, " this submission is so far from being any part of the Catholic truth, much less of the essence and being of Presbyterian government, that it seems to be a tenet purely Popish and Antichristian, and pleads for a government that is not Presbyterian, but Popish and Antichristian : who knoweth not that the favourites and emis-

[1] P. 10. [2] P. 47. [3] P. 49. [4] P. 77. [5] P. 110.

saries of the See of Rome do with might and main plead for this absolute and unlimited subjection," &c.?[1]

XXII.—As I have said, it might have been easy to have shewn more fully how this your argument of Prelacy's paving the way for Popery has been, with very little alteration, turned against yourselves by your own offspring; so that *you* are as much concerned as *we* to purge yourselves of the popular scandal; for my part, I would gladly see what *you* can answer for *yourselves*, which will not be as much subservient to *our* purgation. I know what the public Resolutioners, in their review and examination of the last named book, answered to the Protesters—they grant it is "an old charge against the Presbyterian constitution, that it has Popish mixtures;" but "it is to be considered that all governments do agree in some common principles": they plead that "the Assembly 1648, Aug. 5, Sess. 30, have borrowed a canon from the Prelatists"—they say that "all Popish maxims of government are not to be rejected," otherwise the Protesters might as well reject "the baptism" of infants, and "depositions of ministers," and "the excommunication of members," and innumerable other things, as matters purely Popish and Antichristian, because (forsooth) they are observed in the Romish Church.[2] Now, gentlemen, I hope you will for once be so ingenious as to acknowledge that it needs cost us no hard labour to shew that we can, with as good reason as the Resolutioners, pretend to the benefit of all these pleas, especially we who are for the Divine (or which is all one, the Apostolic) institution of Episcopacy. They have much more,[3] which will also as well (if not much better) make for *us* as for *them*, *e. g.* they say "they do not derive the necessity of submission from the infallibility of the judicatories, and that herein they differ from the Papists." Now, you know very well that we do no more pretend the infallibility of our Bishops than they of their judicatories. They do not urge submission to any judge incompetent. We say our Bishop is our competent superior, they plead only for submission to Ecclesiastical Courts—they are not Erastians, and *we* as little as *they*. They plead not for submission to officers and judicatories which are not of Christ's institution

[1] P. 111, 112. [2] P. 92, 93. [3] P. 94, &c.

—we say the same, and, as we think, upon much better grounds. And now, gentlemen, are we not as fairly purged of Popery, as those of your own party could purge themselves of it, when they were put to it? Nay,

XXIII.—Even you, yourself, Mr Jameson, (as confidently and frequently as you have repeated the pitiful sophism we are now considering) have furnished us with the substance of a very good and a satisfactory answer to it. You may remember Doctor Gilbert Burnet in his "Fourth Conference," brought in your friend Isotimus with the argument in his mouth,[1] and Polyhistor retorting it to this purpose —"May not one that quarrels a standing ministry argue on the same grounds; a ministry's authority over the people, gave the authority Bishops pretend over ministers; and so the ministry will be concluded the first step of the beast's throne?" It is true you talk of it a little disdainfully, as if the Doctor's spirits had been far spent when he came in with such a retorsion, but whatever influence your confidence may have with the rabble of your party, you must allow me to tell you that I am persuaded you saw the retorsion was vigorous and pungent. No man of common sense but must perceive it. For your reasoning is, if there had been no Bishops there had been no Pope; and the Doctor's is every inch as good, if there had been no Presbyters there had been no Bishops. Or, to give it as we had it not long ago from your grandfather, Mr Andrew Melvin, if the Pope's head cannot but stand on Episcopal shoulders, then to be sure Presbyters must be included (and concluded supporters of Antichrist) before we come to the lowest step, for Episcopal shoulders could never have stood but on Presbyterian legs. That you saw the force of this retorsion, I say, seems evident from the difficulty you were reduced to, to find an answer to it. For certainly had you not been difficulted in the matter, you had never chosen an answer which makes as much for us, as possibly it can do for your party. Consider it again, and confess how easy it is for us to apply it to our case. Your words are—"Take Gospel ministry unconfounded with a Papal hierarchy, and then there is not the least colour or pretext for any man's ascribing to it the

[1] P. 321.

first rise of Popery; the parity we plead for among Pastors of flocks, secures a Gospel ministry from any force or appearance of reason in any such assault.[1]" Now what can run more smoothly than, with little alteration, this way of reasoning does for us? Here it is. Take a Gospel Episcopacy unconfounded with a Papal hierarchy, and then there is not the least colour or pretext for any man's ascribing to it the first rise of Popery; the parity we plead for among Bishops secures a Gospel Episcopacy from any force or appearance of reason in any such assault, as is commonly made by Presbyterians, who are not ashamed to come in with such a Popish sophism as a prejudice against Episcopacy. This seems to be enough for you Mr Jameson.

XXIV.—As for you G[ilbert] R[ule] and T[homas] F[orrester], though (considering you have never been men so singularly circumspect and wary in attending all the little consequences that may follow from your principles and reasonings) I doubt not a little pains in turning over your books might afford one as good answers to this argument we are now examining as might in reason satisfy you, yet I cannot at present take leisure to do it, neither will I weary you with rehearsing what our men have returned to it, because perhaps you will even loathe demonstration itself when proceeding from the mouths or pens of Prelatists. Two things, therefore, I will only tell you.—1. That all those Presbyterian writers (and they are not a few) who have acknowledged Episcopacy to be a lawful or a tolerable government, if they were men that regarded consequences, (which, if they did not, themselves and their books are the less to be regarded) they were likewise fairly bound to have frankly confessed that Prelacy doth not necessarily infer Popery. For how can that be a lawful or tolerable government which necessarily brings in Antichrist? Nay, I cannot persuade myself that even you yourselves will be so inconsiderate as to affirm that there is any necessary connection between them. Certainly you are not to be told (considering that you are university men, and that too of the first rate, at least by your present stations) that where causes work necessarily, they work not only uniformly but constantly. Neither need

[1] Nazianz. Querel, p. 105, 106.

you be told (if ye are worthy of your present stations) that since ever Episcopacy was in the Church it has been somewhere without Popery. You cannot but know that there was Episcopacy long before either the Prelate of Constantinople or Rome did set up for being universal Bishop. You cannot but know that even after the Bishop of Rome pretended to be the head of the Catholic visible Church, yet there were always hundreds of Bishops in Christendom that never owned him for such. Sure I am you need not be told that he has been owned, but most keenly and zealously rejected by all the Bishops in Britain these one hundred and forty years. Now if it was not necessarily, but only by accident, that Episcopacy (as you pretend) made way for Papacy, I hope you are both better philosophers, and better Christians too, than to say that Episcopacy is the worse for the Papacy's following it by chance. I think I need not use a word more to shew you what absurdities would follow upon the saying of it. I need not tell you, I say, that it would not only strike against Presbytery, which even by your own principles gave occasion to Episcopacy, but against Christianity itself; for, to be sure, Christianity may be said to have given occasion to both Prelacy and Popery. But this is not all, for

XXV.—Many whom you are earnest to have reckoned among your best friends, have been at pains to shew that between Episcopacy and Popery there is no connection, and there is no consequence from the one to the other. One who had your opportunities (I mean the use of good libraries) might perhaps cite very many, but it may stand me very fair if I can give you such a jury of them as do most unanimously absolve us from being friends to the Papacy by our being for Episcopacy, inasmuch as they do most willingly depose that your argument (now under consideration) is of no value. I told you before that it was a Popish argument—I tell you now, that never an author almost, even of your own party, has written against Popery, but has answered it, nay, and ridiculed it, particularly Mr Calvin, Antonius Sadeel, another Genevian; Pezelius, Lambertus Danæus, Whitakerus, Franciscus Junius, Samuel Huberus, Daniel Chamierus, Amesius, Abrahamus Ramburtius, Salmasius, Samuel Maresius, Wendelinus, Franciscus Turretinus,

Philippus à Limborgh. Here are fifteen as I said, a full jury. You have their depositions on the margin.[1]

[1] Calvin, Instit. lib. 4, cap. 6, sect. 2, states the matter thus—"Utrum ad veram hierarchiæ seu Ecclesiastici ordinis rationem necesse sit sedem unam inter alias et dignitate et potestate eminere, ut sit totius corporis caput." Then he shews that the argument taken from the Jewish High Priest doth no service to the Pope; now that which I observe is, that his reasoning exactly answers our present argument—"Quod in natione una fuit utile, (says he) id in universum orbem extendere nulla ratio cogit. Imo gentis unius et totius orbis longe diversa erit ratio—Nunc ubi vera religio in totum orbem diffusa est, uni dari Orientis et Occidentis moderationem, quis non videat esse prorsus absurdum? Per inde enim est ac si quis contendat totum mundum à præfecto uno debere regi, quia ager unus non plures præfectos habeat." And again, sect. 8—"Atqui illud (inquiunt) Pontificii non minus in naturæ universitate quam in singulis partibus locum habet, ut sit unum summum omnium caput. Et hujus rei, si Deo placet, probationem sumunt à gruibus et apibus, quæ sibi ducem unum semper eligunt, non plures. Recipio sane quæ proferunt exempla: sed an ex toto orbe confluunt apes ut regem unum eligant? suis alvearibus contenti sunt reges singuli. Ita in gruibus unaquæque caterva proprium regem habet. Quid inde aliud evincent quam singulis Ecclesiis deberi suos Episcopos attribui?" Indeed the whole chapter over he most nervously defeats our brethren's argument; and particularly, sect. 17, where he cites that saying of St Cyprian's—"*Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur:*" and holds it to be (as it is indeed) inconsistent with the Pope's supremacy, and utterly subversive of it.

2. Antonius Sadeel, against Turrianus the Jesuit—(Opp. p. 584, edit. 1593)—insists on the same saying of St Cyprian's, and makes Cyprianic Episcopacy, (which I have shewn above, chap. 3, sect. 45, he acknowledged to have been proper,) so far from being introductive of, that it is absolutely inconsistent with the Papacy.

3. Pezelius, in "Refut. Catechismi Jesuit," p. 32, answering their argument for a visible head, &c., writes thus—"Deinde, ut maxime unus aliquis ex Apostolorum successoribus arrogare sibi voluisset officium capitis ministerialis Catholici, impossibile tamen fuisset unum Ecclesiæ universali sufficere: Præterea et si unum potest esse unius alicujus Ecclesiæ particularis caput ministeriale, instar unius Inspectoris quem Græci nominarunt Episcopum, tamen universalis Ecclesiæ unitas nequaquam dependet ex uno capite visibili universali——Nam ut omnes Ecclesiæ particulares eorumque membra una sint Ecclesia Catholica, satis est eas esse consociatas in Christo, agnitione Evangelii ipsius, et usu sacramentorum legitimo.

4. Lambertus Danæus, (ad cap. 9, tertiæ Controv. Bellarm.) answers thus to Bellarmine's "Sexta Ratio," which you have above, (sect. 18)—"Peccat à dicto secundum quid. Potest unus Episcopus uni Ecclesiæ satisfacere, ergo et toti orbi terrarum. Potuit Lynceus cernere usque ad duodecim leucas quid gerebatur, ergo potuit cernere quid ubique terrarum fieret. Sunt hæ rationes ineptissimæ," &c.

5. Whitakerus, Contr. 4, qu. 1, cap. 2, sect. 15, answers thus—"Non sequitur argumentum à singulis Ecclesiis ad totam, ut quia singulæ singulos Episcopos habent, ergo tota unum, qui cunctis præsit, habere debeat. Apertæ discriminis rationes sunt. Quia sic hi metropolitani atque archi-

XXVI.—Here, I say, gentlemen, you have a full jury of your own friends unanimously determining that Episcopacy

episcopi constituti sunt, ut suis limitibus et cancellis circumscriberentur, extra quos egredi non liceret; et quos curare satis commode possent, propter locorum propinquitatem. At Papa nullis locorum aut regionum finibus etiam remotissimis includi vult, cumque unus homo sit, se tamen omnium nationum et populorum Episcopum per totum terrarum orbem et ambitum esse dicit. Quam vero insanum est eorum se Episcopum profitcri, quibuscum omnino nullum habere commercium potest? Orbis enim amplissimus est: in eo multæ sunt Ecclesiæ, et longissime à se invicem remotæ: Unius cura, cogitatio et inspectio ad tam multas et tam disjunctas Ecclesias pertingere non potest."

6. Franciscus Junius, (Animadv. in Bellarm. Contr. lib. 1, cap. 9, num. 55, ad sextam rationem)—" Non bona consequentia est. Si dicas unus homo præest uni particulari Ecclesiæ, ergo et unus toti. Hoc vero negamus consequi aut verum esse, quia unus homo istud nec debet, (non enim id in mandatis habet,) nec potest."

7. Chamier, (lib. 9, cap. 14, sect. 4,) answers it thus—" Negatur consequentia. Ut enim non sequitur, si singulæ familiæ unum habent patrem familias ergo et cunctas. Si singula regna unum regem, ergo et omnia. Ita non est consequens, ut omnibus Ecclesiis unus præsit Episcopus, quia singulis singuli; atque adeo hoc quidem, nimirum ut singuli Episcopi singulis præessent Ecclesiis, fuit olim constitutum et observatum ἐυταξίας gratia; illud vero, ut unus omnibus, nunquam."

8. Amesius (Bellarm. Enerv. tom. i. p. 185, Edit. Oxon. 1629) to the argument—" Oportet aliquem Petro succedere," &c. returns this for an answer. " Si successo conceditur; non est igitur necessarium ut unus aliquis in solidum, quasi hæres ejus ex asse, sit Petri successor. Imperatori in initio uni, succedebant postea duo; unus in oriente, et alter in occidente. Fuerunt etiam inter scholasticos, qui docuerunt Ecclesiam posse simul duos summos pontifices creare et habere; ut Armacanus," De Quest. Armen. lib. 7, cap. 17, et Occam in Dialog. Part 3, ad fin. " Si autem duos, cur non et quot sunt Archiepiscopi vel Episcopi Diocesani?"

9 Samuel Huberus, (Anti-Bellarm, lib. 1, Cornu Bestiæ, 1mo. cap. 14)—" Christus Jesus nullum tale instituit tribunal (quale nempe est Pontificis summi,) quod utique facturus fuisset, si Ecclesiæ suæ necessarium judicasset. Scimus enim quod æquali auctoritate suos in omnes mundi partes amandarit Apostolos; qui ipsi quoque nusquam in Ecclesiis vel Monarchas se gesserunt, vel unquam alicui Monarchæ subjici eas —— jusserunt. Præterea horum (Apostolorum) quoque posteri, canones in conciliis constituerunt, ad vitandum Monarchicum Ecclesiæ imperium, constituentes certos in certis terræ Provinciis Archiepiscopatus."

10. Abrahamus Ramburtius (Thes. Sedan. vol. 2, Disp. de Regimine universæ Ecclesiæ militantis, Th. 22,) answers the argument thus—" Ordo Metropolitanorum et Patriarcharum humanus est: Papa autem Primatum Divino jure sibi vendicat: Neque ita monarchicè reguntur partes, quomodo Papa vult esse Monarcha. Plenissimam enim jurisdictionis potestatem non habet quilibet Episcopus aut Archiepiscopus in sua provincia. Vide Can. Apost. 34, neque potest pro arbitrio, nemine reclamante, leges figere. Demus enim Presbyteros subesse Episcopis, non tamen iis subsunt, ut principibus. Magistris generalibus religiosorum

doth not at all pave the way for Popery. Read over their answers to your argument, and say, if you dare, that they

subsunt religiosi; neque tamen potestas eorum est regia. Sed hujus argumenti negatur consequentia. An omnibus familiis est præficiendus pater familias unus, quia unusque familiæ suæ præest? Est ne inter monachos aliquis monachus Monarcha, quia unicuique famulitio præest ordinis illius magister? Plures Legatos emittit Papa, qui superiorem non venerantur Legatum. Et multi sunt in orbe reges, qui communi in terra regi fasces non submittunt. Quod si primas nationem aliquam regere potest, an propterea sufficiet administrationi totius orbis? in aristocratia monarchicè regi partes possunt à provinciarum vel urbium prætoribus aut præfectis; ut in monarchia partes possunt aristocraticè regi. Gallia senatus habet multos, aut parliamenta, quibus diversæ subsunt provinciæ."

11. Salmasius, (Apparat. ad lib. de Primatu, p. 98)—"Tametsi autem concederetur Episcopatum de jure esse divino, non tam consequeretur tabulata quæ super hoc pede plano structa fuere æque juris esse divini." Vide plura, p. 99, 100, 156, 157, 167, 198. It is true sometimes he seems to affirm that Episcopacy introduced the Papacy, as p. 169, 220, 307; but for this objection I have already accounted to G[ilbert] R[ule], cap. 3,. sect. 34.

12. Samuel Maresius, (Syntag. Theol. Loc. 16, sect. 5)—"Ut tamen Monarchicum illud (Ecclesiæ regimen) constituamus, quo sensu id volunt pontificii, assignando, non solum singulis Ecclesiis, aut etiam singulis diocesibus aliquem προιστώτα, (quod posita pastorum æqualitate ex jure divino, posset tamen, ut olim factum, ex jure humano et positivo, ordinis gratia obtinere), sed omnibus Ecclesiis caput aliquod supremum cui subesse sit de necessitate salutis nunquam à nobis poterimus impetrare, cum et illud sit tyrannicum Antichristianum, et Scripturæ contrarium; ac, propriè loquendo, plurium Ecclesiarum regimen non nisi aristocraticum sit." And, sect. 6, he adds—"Illum verò titulum Episcopi œcumenici, universalis, et Episcopi Episcoporum, quo sensu Papæ tribui solet, sanior antiquitas meritò damnavit; nec ideò quod quælibet Ecclesia particularis, aut quælibet diocesis ex humano instituto, ordinisque servandi gratia posset unicum Pastorem vel Episcopum admittere, ut adhuc obtinet in multis Ecclesiis, quæ secessionem fecerunt à sede Romana; sequetur inde omnes simul Ecclesias non posse uni subesse capiti, cum nemo queat tanto oneri par esse."

13. Fredericus Wendilinus, (System. Maj. Part I, cap. 28, p. 1300,) proposes the argument thus—"Si singulis Ecclesiis præficiendi sunt singuli Episcopi, utique omnibus Ecclesiis et Episcopis præficiendus est unus Episcopus," &c.; and answers thus—"Connexi consequentia negatur; eâdem enim ratione concludi posset, omnibus regnis præficiendum esse unum regem, quia singulis unus est præfectus: omnibus familiis præficiendum esse unum patrem familiâs, quia singulis unus præest: omnibus civitatibus unum vel duos consules esse præficiendos, quia singulis unus vel duo præsunt. Ratio quæ adfertur, nullius momenti est, nam si de regimine inferiori et subordinato sit sermo, quid, quæso, obstat, quo minus id aristocraticum esse possit, hoc est, pluribus à monarcha et supremo uno demandatum?"

14. Franciscus Turretinus, (Instit. Theol. Elenct. p. 111, Loc. 18, Quest. 16. Th. 19)—"Posito, quod singulæ Ecclesiæ sint regendæ ab uno Præside confusionis vitandæ ergo; non sequitur totius orbis Ecclesias

have not demonstrated it to be perfectly inconsequential, a naughty, putid, silly, senseless sophism. Have they not told you, that to infer a Papacy from Episcopacy is just such reasoning as if one should say that the allowing one king in one kingdom, infers that there should be an universal king over all other kings? or that, because there is one prefect over one province there ought to be an universal prefect over all prefects? or one general over all monks, because every order has its general? or one legate over all legates, because there are many legates? or one or two consuls over all the cities of the world, because every city is ruled by one or two consuls? or one universal father of all families, because every particular family has its father? or one master crane over all the cranes in the world, because in every particular flock of cranes there is one that has the mastery? or one master bee over all bees, because in every hive there is one master bee? Doth not Calvin, *e. g.* look upon him as having an hive in his head who reasons at such a rate? have they not told you that it is very possible for one Bishop to oversee one Diocese, but very impossible for

unius hominis potestati esse subjiciendas." Et ibid. Th. 22——Data Rectorum multiplicitate, non ideo Ecclesiam scindi vel in plures dividi consequens esse—" quam regnum unum in multa regna dividi, cum singulis provinciis singuli præficiuntur Proreges, quorum nullus in alium habeat imperium: unde Cyprianus de Episcoporum multitudine loquens, lib. de Unit. Ecclesiæ," *Episcopatus unus est*, &c. vide plura ibid. Qu. 13, et Qu. 20.

15. Philippus à Limborch, as good a Presbyterian as most Dutchmen, Remonstrant or contra-Remonstrant, (Theol. Christ. lib. 7, cap. 8, sect. 17,) answers the argument thus—" Antea nos ostendimus, ordinem illum Archiepiscoporum et Primatum, tolerari posse, si nullam in conscientias fidelium dominationem arripiat, sed ordinis tantum in Ecclesiâ observandi causâ introducatur: non tamen eum esse institutionis divinæ, sed humanæ——Nec ex Archiepiscoporum et Primatum ordine rectè infertur universalis totius Ecclesiæ Monarcha: posset unus sufficere regendæ uni provinciæ, sed non propterea toti orbi."

16. Lest any exception should be made (though I know not why) against any of these fifteen, I add a sixteenth, as zealous a Presbyterian as most Frenchmen I have seen,—Moyses Amyraldus, (Thes. Salmur. Part III, De Ecclesiæ Capite Thes. 26, p. 564)—" Si quis dicat eandem esse rationem Episcopi Romani ad Concilium generale, quæ est Episcopi particularis ad Synodum Diœcesanam, ut ille supra generale Concilium emineat; quemadmodum hic eminet supra Synodum Diœcesanam, is semel atque iterum peccabit. Primum in eo quod non si vel necesse est, vel tolerabile, singulos Episcopos singulis Diœcesibus præfici, continuo vel necesse erit vel adeo ferendum, Pontificem universæ Ecclesiæ præponi. Est inter illa duo μίγα χάσμα "

one man to oversee all the world? have they not told you that it is nonsense to say that one can rule all nations, as well as one can rule one nation? as great nonsense as to say that he who can see at twelve miles distance may see at the distance of twelve thousand? have they not told you that every Bishop may rule his own Diocese, and the College of Bishops may rule the Church Catholic, and preserve unity without an universal Bishop? have not some, and these not the meanest of them, told you that St Cyprian's principle is utterly exclusive of, and inconsistent with the Papacy?[1] has not Salmasius himself told you that Episcopacy may be of Divine right without a Papacy?

XXVII.—To conclude, gentlemen, Doctor Monro did, and I do maintain, that Episcopacy is of Divine right—that all Bishops (as the Apostles were) are equal, and that every Bishop is immediately subject to Christ, and has his commission from him, and not from any Pope, and that with regard both to order and jurisdiction. Now, these are principles, as irreconcileable with Popery as with Erastianism, or if you will, with Presbytery. I know very well that you, Mr Jameson, have endeavoured to banter Doctor Burnet out of a demonstration of this great truth—that the Papacy owes not its rise to Episcopacy,—the demonstration taken from what passed in the Council of Trent about the Divine right of Episcopacy,[2]—you have endeavoured, I say, to banter him out of it; for it is nothing but arrant banter (not one word to the purpose, not one sentence of solid reason) you have said in all that debate. I am not just now at leisure to make it appear so fully as I could; all I shall therefore say is, that few thinking men will readily believe that you understand the Pope's interests better than he himself and all the Court of Rome did—better than all his party in the Council of Trent did—better than all the Jesuits then and ever since have done; for my part I think the great author of the "History of the Council of Trent" alone might have entered into a competition with you for true skill in those matters. Now, all these people were very sensible that to have declared Episcopacy to have been of

[1] Calvin, Sadeel, Turretinus.

[2] Burnet's Conference, 4, p. 323, 324; Nazianz. Querel. p. 132, 103, 104, 105.

Divine institution, and that every Bishop had his power of jurisdiction immediately from Christ, (his ordainers being only instruments, not superiors) without any dependence on any visible higher ecclesiastical power, was utterly to have ruined the Papacy. And Cardinal Bellarmine (as I hinted above) has so unriddled the mystery, that had you consulted him, I cannot imagine you could have talked so confidently as you have done against Doctor Burnet. You have Bellarmine's own deduction of the matter on the margin.[1] Or, if you are not willing to rely on his ingenuity, (though there is little reason to think he was disingenuous in this, if ever he was ingenuous in anything) then consult your own Salmasius,[2] who has indeed so managed the matter against Petavius, as that he has demonstrated either that the Pope's headship must fall to the ground, or Bishops must have their power from him, and not immediately from Christ.

[1] See Bellarmine's "De Rom. Pont." lib. 4, cap. 22, 23, 24, 25, particularly cap. 24, where endeavouring to prove that Bishops have their power of external jurisdiction from the Pope immediately, his fifth reason for it runs thus—"Si haberent Episcopi à Deo suam jurisdictionem, non posset Pontifex illam auferre, aut mutare——Respondebunt, Episcopos habere jurisdictionem à Deo, sed tamen sub Pontifice, et ideo licere Pontifici illam tollere, vel mutare. At contra; nam Apostoli habuerunt potestatem sub Petro, et tamen quibus eam habuerunt immediatè à Christo, non poterat Petrus eam auferre, vel imminuere. Præterea, ordinis potestatem habent omnes Presbyteri sub Pontifice, et tamen quia eam habent à Deo, non potest Pontifex eam ita tollere, ut ii, si velint, non possint ea uti. Nam Presbyter, etiamsi Pontifex illum excommunicet, suspendat, interdicat, degradet tamen; si velit, vere consecrabit. Denique in qualibet urbe Clerus, et populus subjectus est Episcopo; et tamen si quis de Clero vel populo habet immediatè à Pontifice summo aliquam auctoritatem, non potest Episcopus illam tollere vel imminuere: Eodem igitur modo si haberent Episcopi à Christo auctoritatem suam, non posset Christi vicarius eam tollere"—

[2] Vide Salmasii, "Apparatum ad Lib. De Primatu Papæ," p. 99, 100, et passim præcipuè vero, p. 156—ubi sic. "Episcopus aut proprio jure—aut ex concessione et delegatione potentioris (puta Papæ) habet imperium. Si proprio jure imperium in Ecclesia sua habet Episcopus non delegatum, nec concessione majoris potestatis datum. Omnes Episcopi inter se æquales sunt pari omnes potestate et jure et omnes αὐτοκέφαλοι Quo loco igitur erit Episcopus Romæ, si in ordinem redigatur hac sententia et cæteris Episcopis par et æqualis fiat? Si rursum ille habebitur quasi Rex Ecclesiasticus——à quo in cæteros Episcopos jurisdictio descendat, cui tota et solida jurisdictionis potestas data sit, nec minimam quisquam in Ecclesia ejus partem nisi ab ipso habeat, quid fiet Episcopis?" Sed vide ipsum Salmasium, fusiora enim sunt, quam quæ commodè transcribi possint.

You cannot want capacity to understand a thing so plain as both Bellarmine and Salmasius have made it; and I am not able to correct your will if you are resolved to be wilful; all therefore I shall do shall be to pray to God that you may be willing to acknowledge and embrace truth when it is presented to you on the margin.

XXVIII.—Much more might have been said, gentlemen, in vindication of our principles, to shew that they are so far from being any way subservient to the Papacy, that they are quite inconsistent with it, and destructive of it; but I think I have sufficiently answered my design, which was to let the people see that our principles are most unjustly represented by you to them; and to let yourselves see that hereafter ye cannot, without incurring the guilt of notorious and stubborn, as well as unreasonable and uncharitable calumniators, insist on these your common pleas I have now discussed. I have used these hard words (as I have told you before) to awaken you, to oblige you with a witness to look to yourselves and be careful of your souls. Only one thing more let me tell you—I am deceived, if having so fully shewn the unreasonableness of these your pleas against Doctor Monro, I have not enervated all your books which you have written against him; for indeed your main strength lies in these ridiculous charges of Popery.[1] *Discite justitiam moniti.*

[1] [This absurd charge of "Popery," notwithstanding this and other equally powerful refutations of it by Episcopalian writers, continues to be brought against them by Presbyterians of the present day, who thereby incur the guilt either of calumny or ignorance both of Episcopal and "Popish" principles. One would imagine that the recent secessions of many learned and pious priests from the Church of their baptism, and their joining the communion of the Pope, might have silenced this accusation, and made Presbyterians ashamed to bring it forward. For what has produced the change in the persons who have left the Anglican Church? What has obliged them to sever the closest ties of friendship, to relinquish stations of eminence and power, to say nothing of wealth and convenience. What? but because they considered the doctrines of the Anglican Church at variance with those of "Popery." Because holding "Popish" doctrines themselves, they found no quiet home, no congeniality of sentiment, in the bosom of the English Establishment,—because they found the position of the Church of England, which professes to be based upon the principles of the Cyprianic Age, *i. e.* Episcopal principles, *inconsistent* with Popery,—because they conscientiously believed the chair of Peter to be the divinely appointed centre of unity, and the

successor of Peter to be the monarch of Christendom, and could no longer remain in a communion separated by an overt act and repeated declarations from the chair of the Apostle, boldly abjuring the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, and even refusing to admit his claims to the more limited powers of Patriarchal authority. One would think that this fact were sufficient to satisfy Presbyterians of the falsehood of the imputation of "Popery" to the Episcopalian theory. For no persons were more concerned than those who have gone out from amongst us to have discovered the *consistency* of Episcopalianism and Popery. No persons were better qualified, and had more reason to have impartially weighed Anglican doctrine in the balance of what they believed (we are constrained to add—erroneously) *truth*. And yet see the result! It shews that they found Episcopalianism untenable upon their adopted principles against the charge of schism, and the practical teaching of their mother Church dissonant from "Tridentine" doctrine. It is not unworthy of remark, as confirmatory of what has been adduced, that the strenuous assertion of the Episcopal theory was marked by a peculiar dislike to everything Roman, and by severe expressions concerning it. This is very visible in the writings of the Nonjurors; and it is a curious fact in the history of opinion, that what are called "Romanizing tendencies" gradually were introduced, as our writers ceased to insist mainly on the *Apostolical succession*, and began to dwell more on Catholic *æsthetics*. It does not require much observation to notice this distinction and its *effects* in the writings of Sage, Hickes, &c. and of late, Hook and Poole, as compared with the works of the writers of the "Oxford School." I wish to be understood as pronouncing no opinion in the matter, but as merely referring to a palpable fact.—E.]

CHAPTER X.

EPISCOPACY WAS BELIEVED BY ST CYPRIAN AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES TO BE OF DIVINE RIGHT.

SECT. I. IN the "Principles of the Cyprianic Age" it was transiently affirmed that, in the days of St Cyprian, Episcopacy was generally believed to be of Divine institution; and that our Martyr did frequently reason upon the supposition of its being so.[1] "It is a vast mistake," says G[ilbert] R[ule], "that Cyprian pleadeth for the Divine right of Episcopacy. He pleadeth for the Divine authority of the Church and her Bishops, that is—Pastors; not for a Divine warrant for the prelation of some of them above others." And he adds, "that nothing can be more evident than the concurrent testimonies of antiquity against this fancy."[2] This is rough language enough, and it is not very fair dealing; for it was not affirmed that St Cyprian pleaded for the Divine right of Episcopacy; he never had occasion to plead for it—no man denied it—no man doubted of it in his time. All that was affirmed was, that he reasoned upon the supposition of it; but this is no great matter. And I am so far from being angry at the severity of his language, that on the contrary, I do very heartily thank him for giving me such provocation to establish such a considerable "Principle of the Cyprianic Age," which was neglected in my former book: This principle, "that Episcopacy is of Divine Right."

II.—A principle of great consequence and well worth the pains of proving it, if it can be clearly proved to have then obtained, for considering what I have discoursed in the first Chapter of this book, concerning the advantages of that

[1] P. 26. [2] Sect. 32, p. 41.

age; particularly, the great advantage of being so very near to the Apostolic age, that those who then lived might very easily and very certainly have known what form of government the Apostles left in those Churches whose constitution they lived to finish.[1] This considered, I say, it must be obvious to any man of ordinary thinking that it must be an argument of mighty weight against our Presbyterian brethren, if it can be made to appear that Episcopacy was then universally received as of Divine right. All things considered, it must be an argument of so great weight, that the obscure discourses of Jerome and Hilary, the mistaken compliment of Augustin to Jerome, the ambiguous expressions of some lessser and latter Fathers, and the frequently unlearned, as well as always biassed sentiments of the Popish Schoolmen, that all these, even in conjunction, must be very light when put in the balance with it. Let us therefere try whether St Cyprian and his contemporaries believed the Divine right of Episcopacy. And I begin with our Martyr, with evidences of whose belief of the Divine right of Episcopacy it were easy to fill a volume; but I shall only name a few of them. And,

III.—1. Nothing more evident from a great many things already discoursed, *e. g.* I have proved that St Cyprian believed Bishops—as contradistinguished from and superior to Presbyters—to be the Apostles' successors in the supreme power Ecclesiastical.[2] I have proved that he believed that none could be a Rightful Bishop but he that could derive a regular succession from the Apostles.[3] I have proved that he believed it to be of Divine right that there should be but one Bishop at once in a city; and that, by his principles, all schismatical Bishops, such as Novatianus and Fortunatus, &c. were usurpers contrary to Divine precept, to Divine institution, to Divine tradition, &c.[4] I have proved that he believed the Bishop to be God's High Priest, and the Episcopal office to be God's High Priesthood.[5] I have shewn that he did frequently reason from texts of Scripture for proving that subjection which was due to a Christian Bishop as being God's High Priest.[6] I have proved that he believed that it was a Divine ordinance that the Bishop should be a peerless Pastor,[7] and the one judge within his

[1] See chap. 1, sect. 35, &c.
[2] Chap. 6, sect. 2, 3.
[3] Cap. 6, sect. 14, &c.
[4] Ibid. sect. 17.
[5] Cap. 6, 33, 34.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid. sect. 36, &c.

own district.[1] Nay, that he believed that the rules observed in the promotion, the election and ordination of Bishops in his time were of Divine appointment.[2] All these things, I say, I have already fully proved, (and perhaps divers others), from each of which (and much more from all laid together) it must necessarily follow that he believed Episcopacy to be of Divine right. It were easy to prove that this was his belief by many other arguments. Particularly

IV.—2. He believed that there was a special hand of Providence in the promotion of Bishops to their chairs ; that they were set apart for their holy function by Divine designation. So he believed concerning himself,[3] and concerning Cornelius[4] and Lucius,[5] and generally of all Catholic Bishops.[6]

[1] Cap. 6, sect. 41, &c. [2] Cap. 7, sect. 41.

[3] St Cyprian, complaining to his people of the undutifulness of some of his Presbyters, &c., writes thus, Ep. 43, p. 81, 82—" Hoc enim quorundam Presbyterorum malignitas et perfidia perfecit, ne ad vos ante diem Paschæ venire licuisset : dum conjurationis suæ memores, et antiqua illa contra *Episcopatum* meum, imo contra suffragium vestrum et *Dei judicium* venena retinentes"—And Ep. 59, p. 129, writing to Cornelius concerning that same schismatical and rebellious faction, he discourses thus—" Neque enim aliunde hæreses obortæ sunt, aut nata sunt schismata, quam inde quod *sacerdoti Dei* non obtemperatur, nec unus in Ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus judex vice Christi cogitatur. Cui si *secundum magisteria divina* obtemperaret fraternitas universa, nemo——post *Divinum judicium*, post populi suffragium, post coepiscoporum consensum, judicem se jam non Episcopi, sed *Dei* faceret "—And Ep. 66 ad Florentium Pupianum, he insists largely to the same purpose ; vide supra, cap. 6, sect. 7.

[4] Concerning Cornelius, see Epistle 55 to Antonianus, p. 103, where thus—" Venio jam nunc, frater carissime, ad personam Cornelii Collegæ nostri ; ut Cornelium nobiscum verius noveris——de *Domini Dei judicio, qui Episcopum fecit*—— quietus et modestus (Cornelius) et quales esse consueverunt, qui ad hunc *locum divinitus* eliguntur " — And, p. 104— " ——post Episcopatum non exambitum, nec extortum; sed de *Dei, qui sacerdotes facit, voluntate* susceptum, quanta in ipso suscepto Episcopatu suo virtus ?" And Ep. 61, p. 144, 145—" ——tota cordis nostri luce perspicimus Divinæ majestatis *salutaria* et *sancta consilia ;* unde illic (Romæ) repentina persecutio nuper extorta sit, unde contra Ecclesiam Christi et Episcopum *Cornelium* beatum Martyrem, vosque omnes secularis potestas subito proruperit ; ut ad confundendos hæreticos——ostenderet Dominus, quæ esset Ecclesia, quis Episcopus ejus unus, *Divina ordinatione delectus*."

[5] In the beginning of the same Epistle (61), thus—" Et nuper gratulati sumus, cum *te* (Lucium) honore geminato in Ecclesiæ suæ administratione Confessorem pariter et *Sacerdotem constituit divina dignatio*."

[6] Quanquam sciam, frater carissime, Episcopos plurimos, Ecclesiis Dominicis in toto mundo *Divina dignatione* præpositos——Ep. 63, p. 148. Et rursus—" Non enim vincimur quando offeruntur nobis meliora, sed instruimur——ut nos *sacerdotes Dei*, et Ecclesiæ ejus de *ipsius dignatione* Præpositi," Ep. 71, ad Quintum, p. 195. Talia passim occurrunt.

I forbear, for brevity, to translate the testimonies. You have them plain and peremptory on the margin. Indeed, if we may believe the accounts of that age, "God did not only design the persons by secret and unobserved management, but frequently by miracle, by extraordinary external interposition." So it was in the case of Alexander when advanced to the see of Jerusalem,[1] and Fabianus to the see of Rome,[2] both St Cyprian's contemporaries. Nay, whoso seriously considers the testimonies on the margin, will find little reason to doubt that St Cyprian meant some such thing even concerning himself and Cornelius. Much more might have been said to this purpose. Again,

V.—3. He insists as frequently on the Divine protection and vindication of faithful Bishops, how God has a special care of them, and shews them peculiar favours. You have a specimen of such his belief on the margin ;[3] only one remarkable one there is which I shall translate, it is in Ep. 66 to Pupianus, where he tells that schismatic that he had a special revelation from our Lord to this purpose—"He who believes not Christ making a Bishop, shall afterwards be forced to believe Christ vindicating a Bishop." So that this is not so much St Cyprian's as our Saviour's testimony, immediately revealed from Heaven to our Martyr.[4]

[1] Euseb. H. E. lib. 6, cap. 11. [2] Euseb. lib. 6, cap 29.

[3] Copiosus Episcoporum numerus quos——Domini *tutela protexit*—Ep. 55, p. 102. Nonne inter gloriosus Confessores et Martyres deputandus (Cornelius) qui tantum temporis sedit expectans corporis sui carnifices, et tyranni ferocientis ultores ; qui Cornelium adversus edicta feralia resistentem invaderent——? Etiamsi majestas *Domini protegentis* et bonitas, *sacerdotem* quem *fieri voluit*, factum quoque *protexit*. Ibid. p. 105.

Cæterum——quando Episcopus——*Dei auxilio* in persecutione *protegitur ;* in amphitheatro *Dominicæ dignationis testimonio* honoratus—à quibusdam desperatis——impugnari videtur, apparet quis impugnet. Non scilicet *Christus*, qui *sacerdotes* aut *constituit* aut *protegit ;* sed——Christi adversarius, &c. Ep. 59, p. 130. Et rursus——"Nullus *sacerdos Dei*——cujus non humilitas et infirmitas, vigore ac robore *Domini protegentis* animetur." Ibid. p. 139.

—Ut simul cum cæteris Collegis nostris stabiliter ac firmiter administremus, atque ut Ecclesiæ Catholicæ pacem concordiæ unanimitate teneamus, *perficiet Divina dignatio*. Ut Dominus, qui *sacerdotes* sibi in Ecclesia sua *eligere* et *constituere dignatur*, electos quoque, et constitutos sua voluntate atque opitulatione *tueatur*. Ep. 48, p. 91.

Vide plura, Ep. 43, p. 82, 84 ; Ep. 50, init. Ep. 51, init. Ep. 61, p. 144, *et passim*.

[4] Memini enim quid jam mihi sit *ostensum*, (vocabulum revelationibus denotandis nostro familiarissimum) imo quid servo obsequenti et timenti,

VI.—The result of what hath been said is this—the arguments contained in sect. III. are clearer than to need any farther illustration or application. And these two last considerations do as forcibly conclude that St Cyprian believed Episcopacy to be of Divine right. Is it imaginable that a person of so penetrating a reason as St Cyprian, having his wits about him, could have believed that God would have so carefully and constantly interposed with a Providence peculiarly favourable, and extraordinarily manifested, to design the best of men for, and protect and vindicate them in, the administration of an office which he had not instituted? Had St Cyprian been of the modern belief (the belief professed by G[ilbert] R[ule] and his brethren Scottish Presbyterians) that Prelacy is so very ill a thing—"a branch of Antichristianism"—"the mystery of iniquity"—"a plant which God never planted in his vineyard"—"a mere usurpation"—"a government simply unlawful," &c. Had it been possible for him to believe that God would have so much regarded and befriended Prelates? But this is not all, for,

VII.—4. The last testimony I adduced introduces me to another consideration of as great weight as any of the former. It is, that as that age abounded with signal manifestations and singular operations of the Spirit—with extraordinary revelations of the Divine will, so these were most frequently and commonly exhibited to Bishops for their direction and encouragement in the administration of their office. Whoso with a suitable attention shall read over our Martyr's epistles and discourses, may find a great multitude of such manifestations. I shall only direct my reader how to find a competent number. Thus he had a special command from God to retire in the days of the Decian persecution. So he says himself;[1] so it is likewise affirmed by his Deacon Pontius.[2] Many such revelations he had in that his retirement. He accounts for four or five of them in his eleventh Epistle, directed to his Presbyters and Deacons.[3] In his time (the time of his Episcopacy) a pestilence raged in Carthage; the people began to murmur and repine. This

de Dominica et divina auctoritate præceptum; qui inter cætera quæ *ostendere* et *revelare* dignatus est, et hoc addidit, *itaque qui Christo non credit sacerdotem facienti, postea credere incipiet sacerdotem vindicanti.* Ep. 66, p. 169.

[1] Ep. 16, p. 38. [2] Pont. in Vit. Cyp. [3] P. 24, 25, 26.

gave occasion to his writing his excellent discourse on mortality, wherein he not only condemns the repinings of the people, but assures them he had a revelation commanding him assiduously to preach to them, and tell them that they ought not to bewail their brethren "whom God by that pestilence called to himself, and liberated from the miseries of this present life."[1] And when the Lapsers turned so insolent as to attempt in a manner to force him to give them peace and absolve them, he got frequent admonitions from Heaven to maintain the vigour of discipline, and oblige those Lapsers to complete their satisfactions.[2] And Ep. 63, he tells Cæcilius that it was in obedience to an extraordinary admonition, that he wrote against that error which he encounters in that Epistle.[3] He tells his clergy and people, Ep. 40, that it was in compliance with a special manifestation of the will of God that he sent Numidicus to be added to the number of his Presbyters at Carthage.[4] It was particularly revealed to him, Ep. 58, that another persecution was at hand.[5] And, Ep. 66, he tells Florentius Pupianus that he will not grant him his communion, "till he has first received some special signification of the will of God about it."[6]

VIII.—Neither were these honours peculiar to St Cyprian. As he had a special command for his retirement, so had the great Dionysius, his contemporary, Bishop of Alexandria.[7] This extraordinary man had likewise an extraordinary revelation, allowing, or rather encouraging him to read all heretical writings that he might the more effectually refute them.[8] And not only St Cyprian, but other forty Bishops with him, do declare, in a Synodical Epistle, that they had "received a revelation from God that another persecution was approaching;" and therefore, having such assurance of it, they had unanimously "resolved to shorten the penances of the Lapsers, and restore them to the Church's peace, that they might receive the Sacrament of our Lord's Body and Blood, and be armed and encouraged thereby the more resolutely to stand their ground when the persecution should come upon them."[9]

[1] De Mortalitate, p. 163. [2] Ep. 15, p. 35; Ep. 16, p. 38; De Lap. p. 132.
[3] P. 148 et 156. [4] P. 78, 79. [5] P. 120. [6] P. 169.
[7] Euseb. H. E. lib. 6, cap. 40. [8] Ibid. lib. 7, cap. 7.
[9] Cum videamus diem rursus alterius infestationis appropinquare cœpisse,

IX.—The consequence of this consideration is every whit as firm and necessary as of any of the former; for if St Cyprian (and the same may be said of Dionysius and the other forty Bishops) had not believed Episcopacy to have been a Divine ordinance (at least as to approbation), how could he so readily have believed that God would have honoured, enlightened, directed, and by visions and extraordinary manifestations of his purposes and pleasure, encouraged those who exercised the Episcopal office? How could he have believed it any manner of way agreeable to the most intelligible and comprehensible attributes of God—his wisdom I mean—his honour, his purity, his absolute sovereignty and independency—to concern himself so signally and extraordinarily for the good success of government in the hands of such sacrilegious and abominable liars as these must needs be who pretend to have commission from him when they have none? Of such notorious usurpers as acted not only without his commission but in plain contradiction to his ordinance, if it was his ordinance that the Church should be governed by Pastors acting in parity, according to the Presbyterian principles? And,

X.—As this argument is strong and nervous in itself, so it is of peculiar force against our Presbyterian brethren, upon such principles as themselves value very highly, and insist on very confidently. With what keenness and confidence have some of them insisted on this argument for Presbytery[1]—that God has so frequently and observably honoured its most zealous abettors with special manifestations of his spirit, and revelations of his will and purposes? How much is this insisted on in the book called "The Fulfilling of the Scriptures?" What else than this pretence to such communications has so much recommended Mr Rutherford's Letters? Now, I say, seeing our Presbyterian

et *crebris* atque *assiduis ostensionibus* admoneamur, ut ad certamen—armati et parati simus—Ep. 57, p. 116, et paulo post. "Obtemperandum est namque *ostensionibus*, atque *admonitionibus*." Ibid, p. 117. Et "placuit nobis, *Sancto Spiritu suggerente*, et Domino per *visiones multas* et *manifestas* admonente, quia hostis nobis imminere *prænunciatur* et *ostenditur*, colligere intra castra milites Christi"—P. 119.

[1] [For instance—Wodrow, in his "Analecta" recently published for the Maitland Club, records marvellous things done for ministers and people of his persuasion. The Catholic legends of mediæval times are quite outdone in many instances by the stories of the Presbyterian chronicler.—E.]

brethren are so apt to use and insist on such reasonings, upon what ground can they reject reasonings founded upon the same principles? upon the communications of God's mind, and the revelations of his purposes in the Cyprianic age? Will they say that such reasonings cannot be good or solid? Why then do they use them? Will they say that themselves reason well in this matter because they have a good cause; but St Cyprian and his contemporaries reasoned wrong, because it was for the assertions of a bad cause their manifestations were pretended? I am hopeful they will not venture on such a ridiculous plea, such a notorious tergiversation, for this is palpably to make the assertion justify the argument, and not the argument the assertion.

XI.—Evident then it is, that we have (if not much better, yet at least) as good reason to argue from the manifestations in St Cyprian's time, as our brethren can pretend to for arguing from the manifestations made to those of their party. Well, where there are equal pretences to extraordinary revelations, and arguments drawn from them by the opposite pretenders, to prove opposite and contradictory conclusions, one thing is certain, namely, that it is impossible that both pretences can be good till it turn possible to reconcile contradictions. It must needs therefore remain that the pretensions on both sides to extraordinary revelations be carefully and impartially examined and compared, and that trial be made whether pretensions have greatest probability—whether manifestations are most likely to have been really and truly of God—and let our brethren bring it to this question whenever they please. And yet after all,

XII.—Though I do not in the least doubt that St Cyprian and his contemporaries had really those manifestations they pretended to, yet it is not absolutely necessary for my present purpose that they had them really, it is enough that they believed they had them; and their so plain and positive asserting that they had them is the best argument the nature of the thing is capable of to prove that they believed that they had them; but if they did really believe they had them, and had them for their direction and encouragement in the administration of the Episcopal office, it must needs follow that they likewise believed Episcopacy to have Divine

approbation. It must needs follow that they did not believe, as our Presbyterian brethren profess to believe—that they did not believe Episcopacy to be unlawful. On the contrary, nothing more smoothly colligible from such their belief, than that likewise they believed Episcopacy to have been a Divine ordinance. But neither is this all; I have yet many more arguments to prove that St Cyprian believed the Divine right of Episcopacy; but, for brevity, I shall only insist on other three.

XIII.—5. Then, if he believed that it was a transgression of the laws of God, a departing from the Gospel, a notorious dishonouring of God, and a crime that brought down God's judgments, when any ecclesiastical subjects, Presbyters or others—disobeyed, contemned, separated from, or rebelled against their Bishops, it seems to follow unavoidably that he believed Episcopacy to be a Divine ordinance. Now, that he believed these things is so obvious in his writings, that to collect all that is contained in them to this purpose would be as troublesome as it is needless. How frequently doth he make contemners of, or separaters from, or rebels against their Bishops, guilty of the crime, and obnoxious to the punishment of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram? But this and many other such arguments of his belief in this matter have been already pursued in the preceding Chapters. I shall only give three or four plain testimonies on the margin.[1] Indeed,

[1] Quod enim non periculum metuere debemus de offensa Domini; quando aliqui de Presbyteris, nec *Evangelii*, nec loci sui memores, sed neque *futurum* Domini *judicium*, neque nunc sibi præpositum Episcopum cogitantes ——cum contumelia et *contemtu Præpositi* totum sibi vendicent. Ep. 16, p. 36, et—" Hi (Presbyteri)——*contemtu Domini lege* et observatione—— ante reditum nostrum——communicent cum Lapsis"—*Ibid.* p. 38.

Audio tamen quosdam de Presbyteris nec *Evangelii memores*,——nec Episcopo honorem sacerdotii sui et cathedræ reservantes—Ep. 17, p. 39. Honor ergo datur Deo, quando sic Dei majestas et censura contemnitur, ut cum se ille indignari et irasci sacrificantibus dicat, et cum pœnas æternas et supplicia perpetua comminetur: proponatur â sacrilegis atque dicatur; ne ira cogitetur Dei, ne timeatur judicium Domini, ne pulsetur ad Ecclesiam Christi; sed sublata pœnitentia, nec ulla exomologesi criminis facta, *despectis Episcopis* atque *calcatis, pax* à *Presbyteris* verbis fallacibus prædicetur—Ep. 59, p. 135.

And in his discourse, " De Lapsis," he makes the contempt of the Bishops one of the provocations which brought down the judgment of the persecution—p. 123.

XIV.—6. St Cyprian was so much persuaded of the Divine right of Episcopacy, that he frequently insists on the devil's malice and hatred against the Bishops, as being God's High Priests, and administrating an office of Divine institution. You have a few plain testimonies on the margin,[1] whereby this is evident as light. But what needs more?

XV.—7. Our blessed Martyr, I cannot tell how often, doth in most plain, direct, and peremptory terms, affirm Episcopacy to be of Divine institution. I begin with Ep. 33, because I did mention it in my former book, and G[ilbert] R[ule] is very angry that I should have affirmed that St Cyprian did reason on such a supposition in it. I have already told how some of the Lapsers, encouraged thereto by some over-keen Martyrs and Confessors, and some discontented Presbyters, had written to St Cyprian, then in his retirement, calling themselves a Church, and requiring him to restore them to his communion. This 33d Epistle contains his answer to them. The main conclusion he aims

[1] ——Apparet quis impugnet (se, nempe, suumque Episcopatum). Non scilicet Christus, qui *sacerdotes* aut *constituit* aut *protegit;* sed *ille,* qui Christi adversarius, et Ecclesiæ ejus inimicus, ad hoc Ecclesiæ Præpositum sua infestatione persequitur, ut gubernatore sublato, atrocius et violentius circa Ecclesiæ naufragia grassetur. Cyp. ad Cornel. Ep. 59, p. 130.

"Agnoscit ne jam qui sit *sacerdotes Dei?* quæ sit Ecclesia et Domus Christi? qui sint Dei servi, quos *diabolus infestet?* qui sint Christiani, quos Antichristus impugnet? neque enim quærit illos, quos jam subegit, aut gestit evertere, quos jam suos fecit. Inimicus et hostis Ecclesiæ quos alienavit ab Ecclesia et foras duxit, ut captivos et vinctos contemnit, et præterit; eos pergit lacessere, in quibus Christum cernit habitare." Ad eundem Cornelium," Ep. 60, p. 142, 143.

Intelligimus, frater carissime—(Lucium alloquitur: De Cornelio, et Novatiano, uter nempe Romanus ex Dei ordinatione esset Episcopus, sermo est) quis Episcopus ejus (Domini nostri) unus, *Divina ordinatione* delectus; qui cum Episcopo Presbyteri sacerdotali honore conjuncti; quis adunatus et verus Christi populus Dominici gregis caritate connexus: qui essent, quos *inimicus* lacesseret, qui contra, quibus *diabolus* ut suis parceret. Neque enim persequitur et impugnat Christi adversarius, nisi castra et milites Christi—Ep. 61, p. 144, 145.

Persecutio enim veniens te ad summam martyrii sublimitatem provexit, me autem proscriptionis onere depressit, cum publice legeretur; si quis tenet vel possidet de bonis Cæcilii Cypriani Episcopi Christianorum; ut etiam qui non credebant *Deo Episcopum constituenti,* vel *diabolo* crederent *Episcopum proscribenti.* Ad Pupianum, Ep. 66, p. 166.

Vide plura, Ep. 43, p. 84; Ep. 55, p. 103, 105; Ep. 59, p. 126.

at in it is, that it was an unaccountable presumption in them (being in the state of *excommunicates*, not having finished their penances, not yet restored to the Church's peace by the Bishop, who had the sovereign power of reconciliation, &c.) thus to call themselves a Church, &c. Now, that we may clearly and distinctly perceive the principles from whence he draws this conclusion, I will once more translate and transcribe his reasoning. It runs to this purpose—" Our Lord, whose commands we ought to dread and obey, instituting the honour of a Bishop and the order of the Church, says thus to Peter in the Gospel, ' I SAY UNTO THEE, THOU ART PETER, AND UPON THIS ROCK WILL I BUILD MY CHURCH, AND THE GATES OF HELL SHALL NOT PREVAIL AGAINST IT ; AND I WILL GIVE TO THEE THE KEYS OF THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN, AND WHATSOEVER THOU SHALT LOOSE ON EARTH SHALL BE LOOSED IN HEAVEN.' From hence, by the turns of times and successions, the ordination of Bishops, and the order (frame, contexture, or constitution) of a Church, is so handed down as that the Church is built upon the Bishops, and all the administration (or government) of the Church is managed by the same rulers (the Bishops). Seeing, therefore, this is founded in the Divine law, it is marvellous to me, that with such a bold temerity some of you (Lapsers) should have thus written to me in the name of a Church, whereas a Church consists of a Bishop and Clergy, and faithful or unlapsing Christians. God forbid that ever the pity and the power of our Lord should suffer such a reproach as that a number of Lapsers should be called a Church."[1] So I render it in such Scot-

[1] Dominus noster, cujus præcepta metuere et observare debemus, Episcopi honorem, et Ecclesiæ suæ rationem disponens in Evangelio loquitur, et dicit Petro ; EGO TIBI DICO, QUIA TU ES PETRUS, ET SUPER ISTAM PETRAM EDIFICABO ECCLESIAM MEAM, ET PORTÆ INFERORUM NON VINCENT EAM ; ET TIBI DABO CLAVES REGNI CŒLORUM, ET QUÆ LIGAVERIS SUPER TERRAM ERUNT LIGATA IN CŒLIS ; ET QUÆCUNQUE SOLVERIS SUPER TERRAM ERANT SOLUTA ET IN CŒLIS. Inde per temporum et successionum vices, Episcoporum ordinatio et Ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut Ecclesia super Episcopos constituatur ; et omnis actus Ecclesiæ per *eosdem Præpositos* gubernetur. Cum hoc itaque *divina lege* fundatum sit, miror quosdam audaci temeritate sic mihi scribere voluisse ut Ecclesiæ nomine literas facerent ; quando Ecclesia in *Episcopo* et *Clero*, et in omnibus *stantibus* sit *constituta*. Absit enim, ne Domini misericordia et potestas ejus invidiam patiatur, ut Ecclesia esse dicatur Lapsorum numerus, cum scriptum sit ; DEUS NON EST MORTUORUM, SED VIVORUM. Ep. 33, p. 66.

tish as I have; but let the stress lie on the original as you have it on the margin.

XVI.—By the way, if I have varied in words from my former translation,[1] it is not for any force there is in G[ilbert] R[ule]'s castigation of it, but to try if using other words to express the same thing will please him. His castigation he might indeed have spared, without any diminution of his credit. It is, that I "shew but little skill in translating those words"—[omnis actus Ecclesiæ per *eosdem Præpositos* gubernetur] into these [all her affairs are ordered by them (Bishops) as the chief rulers]—why little skill shewn in this translation? because, forsooth, the sentence should be turned [by the same who are set over her]. "And I think (says G[ilbert] R[ule]) it will not be denied that Presbyters are *Præpositi*." No, truly, but I am apt to think not in this place; the relative pronoun [eosdem,] as I take it, (as every school-boy will at first sight take it,) refers only to the Bishops mentioned before, and I think before there was no mention of Presbyters; Bishops then, and Bishops only, were the *Præpositi* meant by St Cyprian in this place; and I can refer it to any impartial judge to determine whether in this work I have not sufficiently proved that Bishops were *Præpositi*, rulers in chief; but this I said only by the way; proceed we now to our chief business, viz.

XVII.—To consider what the principles were from which St Cyprian drew his aforesaid conclusion; and, in short, these at least are most manifestly contained in his reasoning. 1. That our Lord, when he said to Peter, "EGO TIBI DABO," &c. did not only institute the ratio, the order, the frame, the contexture of a Church, but likewise the honour; that is, as I have shewn,[2] the power, the authority, the sovereignty of a Bishop. The design of the whole reasoning here necessarily requires that we should so understand the term honour. 2. That in pursuance of that institution, or disposition, or settlement, or ordinance, there had always, to that very day, been a succession of such Bishops. 3. That (according to our Lord's promise to St Peter) all particular Churches had always been built on their particular Bishops. 4. That those particular Bishops had always ordered the

[1] Prin. Cyp. Age, p. 28.

[2] Cap. 5, sect. 10.

discipline, managed the government, tempered the administration of those particular Churches. That therefore, 5. By Divine precept, which all ought to honour and obey, the power of those particular Bishops ought to be regarded and acknowledged by all the members of these particular Churches whereof they are Bishops. These principles are so brightly contained in our Martyr's reasoning, that I am hopeful G[ilbert] R[ule] himself will acknowledge so much when he seriously considers it, and acknowledge withal that St Cyprian believed the Divine institution of Episcopacy.

XVIII.—But if he shall make such acknowledgments, then I hope that he will likewise retract his two surprizing observes on this reasoning of St Cyprian.[1] The one is, that *a Bishop is not a Church*, concerning which before. The other is, that when St Cyprian says the Church is founded on the Bishop, his meaning is, *it is founded upon his sound doctrine*, as if the sound doctrine of the meanest member of the Church were not as sound, as the sound doctrine of the Bishop. The plain truth is, [Gilbert] R[ule] might as well have mentioned the Bishop's doublet as his doctrine; for however necessary it may be (and who denies it to be most necessary?) that the Bishop's doctrine should be sound, yet St Cyprian, in the reasoning we have now before us, was no more immediately and directly concerned in the Bishop's doctrine than his doublet. The Bishop's sovereign power of government and discipline was all he aimed or could aim at in the present argument, as is demonstratively evident from the scope and series of the Epistle.

XIX.—Neither is it in this thirty-third Epistle only that he insists on this reasoning from our Lord's words to Peter for the Divine right of Episcopacy. He has it over again in his seventy-third Epistle to Jubaianus, as hath already been accounted.[2] He has it likewise in his excellent discourse of the "Unity of the Church," where his design is to shew the horrid impiety of rebelling against the duly and canonically elected and ordained and orthodox Bishop of any particular church, or separating from him, or setting up as an anti-Bishop in opposition to him; and his first and

[1] Cyp. Bp. Exd. sect. 28, p. 37.

[2] Cap. 6, sect. 56.

chiefest argument is that which hath been already insisted on, viz. that our Lord founded his Church on St Peter, and thereby instituted Episcopal government; and laid an indispensable obligation on all the members of every particular church to maintain one communion, by living in a dutiful subjection to, and dependence on the one Bishop, who to his own particular Church is the principle of unity. The reasoning is so full that it is too long to be transcribed; indeed it is needless to transcribe it, for you have already the substance of it transcribed from Ep. 33; only one thing I observe about it, namely, the assurance wherewith our Martyr addresses to it; he brings it in with an air importing that it is both an obvious and unconquerable argument.[1] This same reasoning for the Divine institution of Episcopacy he either implies or supposes in divers other places, such as Ep. 43,[2] and Ep. 66;[3] and not only he but other thirty Bishops with him;[4] you have the testimonies on the margin. Neither is this all.

XX.—Our holy Martyr in very many other places directly and positively asserts the Divine right of Episcopacy. I shall name a few. In his address to Fortunatus, prefixed to his discourse "De Exhort. Martyrii," he says expressly "that the people are by *God committed* to the Bishop's care."[5]

[1] Hoc (n. Ecclesiam scindi) eo fit, fratres dilectissimi, dum ad veritatis originem non reditur, nec caput quæritur, nec magistri cœlestis doctrina servatur. Quæ si quis consideret et examinet, tractatu longo atque argumentis opus non est. Probatio est ad fidem facilis compendio veritatis. Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum; EGO TIBI DICO, &c. ——super unum ædificat Ecclesiam suam. Vide De Unit. Eccl. p. 105, 106, 107, &c.

[2] Deus unus est, et Christus unus, et una Ecclesia, et *cathedra una* super Petrum Domini voce fundata, &c. Ep. 43, p. 83.

[3] Dominus quoque in Evangelio——conversus ad duodecim dixerit; NUNQUID ET VOS VULTIS IRE? RESPONDIT EI PETRUS, DICENS: DOMINE AD QUEM IBIMUS?——Loquitur illic Petrus, super quem ædificata fuerat Ecclesia; Ecclesiæ nomine docens et ostendens, quia etsi contumax ac superba obaudire volentium multitudo discedat, Ecclesia tamen à Christo non recedit, et illi sint Ecclesia plebs sacerdoti adunata, et pastori suo grex adhærens: Unde scire debes Episcopum in Ecclesia esse, Ecclesiam in Episcopo—Ep. 66, p. 168.

[4] ——baptisma unum——et Spiritus sanctus unus, et una Ecclesia à Christo Domino super *Petrum* origine unitatis et ratione fundata. Ep. 70, p. 191.

[5] Quid autem potius aut majus curæ nostræ ac solicitudini congruit; quam ut *commissum* nobis *divinitus* populum, et exercitum in castris

He says in his discourse at the opening up of the great Council of Carthage, An. 256, " that our Lord Jesus Christ, and he alone, has power of setting Bishops over the Church to govern it; and he alone can judge of their administrations."[1] He says to Cornelius, Ep. 59, " that if the courage of Bishops be shaken, and they shall yield to the temerity of wicked schismatics, there will then be an end of the Episcopal authority, and the sublime and *Divine power* of governing the Church."[2] And again, in that same Epistle, (as we have heard already) " that Christ *constitutes* as well as protects Bishops." And Ep. 66, to Florentius Pupianus, " that it is *God* that *makes Bishops:*" this he tells him twice or thrice over,[3] and that his people was committed to him by the *Divine favour*,[4] and that it is by the *Divine appointment* that a Bishop is set over the Church.[5] And what can be clearer, plainer, or more positive, than what he says to Pompeius, when he tells him it is indispensably required of Bishops " that they fear God—that they maintain the faith —that they observe Christ's precepts—that they preserve the sanctity of Christ's spouse uncorrupted and inviolated," &c., and all this because " they are bound as God's faithful soldiers to watch over the camp, *by God committed* to them, with a courageous fidelity."[6] And again—" it is our duty,

cœlestibus constitutum, adversus diaboli tela et jacula, exhortationibus assiduis præparemus? De Exhort. Martyr. p. 167.

[1] Expectemus universi judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus et solus habet potestatem et *præponendi nos* (Episcopos) in Ecclesiæ suæ gubernatione, et de actu nostro judicandi. Tom. i. p. 230.

[2] Vide supra, cap. 5 and 6.

[3] —— Post Deum judicem qui *sacerdotes facit* ——Quid aliud est, quam credere quod non à Deo, nec per Deum *sacerdotes* ejus in Ecclesia *constituantur?*

[4] —— Qui non credebant Deo Episcopum *constituenti*——Episcopus—— homo dignatione *Dei* honoratus——annue aliquando (Pupiane) et dignare pronunciare de nobis (me n. Cypriano) et Episcopatum nostrum cognitionis tuæ auctoritate firmare, ut Deus et Christus ejus agere tibi gratias possint, quod per te sit antistes et rector, altari eorum pariter et plebi restitutus——quare in hunc scrupulum non inciderunt de plebe ista nostra quæ apud nos est, et nobis de *Dei dignatione commissa* est?——quamobrem, frater, si majestatem Dei qui *sacerdotes ordinat*, cogitaveris—Ep. 66.

[5] Apes habent regem et ducem pecudes, et fidem servant latrones—— *Præpositus* illic agnoscitur et timetur, quem non *sententia divina constituit*, sed in quem factio perdita et nocens caterva consensit. Ibid. p. 167.

[6] Quod si est apud nos, frater dilectissime, Dei timor, si tenor prævalet fidei, si custodimus Christi præcepta, si incorruptam atque inviolatam

who are the *Priests* of *God*, (or Bishops,) as we would be deemed obedient to the Divine precepts, when any corruption has crept into the Church, to reform it according to our Lord's institution, &c. that thence our administration may take its rise whence our order had its original."[1]

XXI.—Nothing had been easier than to have adduced twice so many evidences from St Cyprian's writings of his belief of the Divine right of Episcopal government; but methinks I have given that which is sufficient, as much, I am confident, as may convince even G[ilbert] R[ule] himself, that it was rashness in him to say that it was a "vast mistake to say that St Cyprian argued upon the supposition of Episcopacy's being of Divine institution." I proceed now to try what was the faith of his contemporaries; and because G[ilbert] R[ule] has somewhere insinuated that St Cyprian being a Bishop, might have been partial, and made some stretches for procuring veneration and submission to his order, the first of his contemporaries I shall name shall be one who was never more than a Presbyter.

XXII.—Origen is the man—how much he was St Cyprian's contemporary I have shewn before[2]—I am now to shew that he deposes plainly for the Divine right of Prelacy. He does it in his Commentaries on St Matthew—he produces texts of Scripture, not only against the second marriages of Deacons and of Presbyters, but also of Bishops, as contradistinguished from the other orders—peculiar texts of Scripture I mean, besides those he adduces against the second marriages of the other two orders. And in the same Commentaries, he says that St Paul, defining what Bishops ought to be, says—THEY MUST NOT BE LITIGIOUS NOR STRIKERS, BUT MEEK, AND OF GOOD BEHAVIOUR, having all those good qualifications which those STEWARDS ought to have WHOM OUR LORD SETS OVER HIS FAMILY, as St Luke has it. And in his 13th Homily on St Luke—"if it be proper (says he) to

sponsæ ejus sanctitatem tuemur——quasi fideles Dei milites, qui Deo fide et religione sincera militamus, *commissa nobis divinitus castra* fideli virtute servemus—Ep. 74, p. 214, 215.

[1] Quod et nunc facere oportet *Dei sacerdotes* præcepta Divina servantes, ut si in aliquo nutaverit et vacillaverit veritas; ad *originem* Dominicam et Evangelicam et Apostolicam traditionem revertamur; et inde surgat *actus* nostri ratio, unde et *ordo* et *origo surrexit*. Ibid. p. 215, 216.

[2] Cap. 8, sect. 11.

speak boldly the meaning of the Scriptures, in every Church there are two Bishops, the one visible, the other invisible. His meaning is, that besides the visible Bishop, such as Demetrius, or Heraclius, or Dionysius were, in his time in Alexandria, there was likewise a guardian angel set apart for the Episcopacy of every particular Church; but that which I am concerned for at present is only that Origen believed that both these Bishops were to be found in Scripture; so that already we have had three plain testimonies from him for the Divine right of Episcopacy; but we have yet more, for,

XXIII.—In his 20th Homily on St Luke—" if Jesus Christ, the Son of God, (says he) is subject to Joseph and Mary, shall not I be subject to the Bishop, who is of God *ordained* to be my father? shall not I be subject to the Presbyter, who by the Divine vouchsafement is set over me?" Here the Bishop, as contradistinguished from the Presbyter, is positively said to be ordained of God. To be sure, he has as much of Divine right as the Presbyter. If G[ilbert] R[ule] shall come in here with his old *mumpsimus* of the *sole power*, who can help it? I go on with Origen,[1] who in his Commentaries on St Matthew, interpreting these words of St Luke—AND HE THAT IS CHIEF AS HE THAT SERVETH—he understands it to be a precept concerning the office of a Bishop; and in his second Homily on the Canticles, he finds a prophetic vision concerning the three Ecclesiastical orders of Bishop, Presbyter, and Deacon; and in his third book against Celsus, he again takes it for granted that St Paul, 1 Tim. iii, describes a proper Bishop as contradistinguished from a Presbyter. Now it will be nothing to the purpose to say that Origen mistook St Paul. My argument cannot be infirmed but by saying that he mistook his own belief (which to say would be a little surprizing), for here it lies—he who understood St Paul of a Prelate could not but believe the Divine right of Prelacy. Once more, the same Origen, in his book about prayer, discoursing of the debts mentioned in our Lord's Prayer, after he has insisted on the duties

[1] Origen—as Eusebius, H. E. lib. 6, cap. 19, has recorded—in the fifth of his "Commentaries on St John," has the same sentiment which St Cyprian and Firmilian have, about the Churches being built on St Peter, and by consequence it is not to be doubted that (as well as they) he looked on that, as a Divine institution of Episcopacy.

common to all Christians, he adds, "besides these more common or universal debts, there is a debt peculiar to such as are widows maintained by the Church, and there is a debt peculiar to Deacons, and another peculiar to Presbyters; but of all these peculiar debts, that which is due by the Bishop is the greatest. It is exacted by the Saviour of the whole Church, and the Bishop must smart severely for it if it is not paid."[1] In which testimony we have Origen's belief of the Divine right of Episcopacy most plainly supposed; for how can the Saviour of the whole Church require any thing as a debt of any person on whom he, by his laws, has laid no obligation to pay it? how could he bind a Bishop to such and such performances, and make them a debt due by one invested in that office, if he never instituted such an office? He might indeed have punished him for usurping such an office even without, much more against, his institution. But without institution it will be very hard to shew how an exaction of a conscientious discharge of the office of a Bishop, as of a debt, can be comprehended. And so much for Origen. I have not been at the pains to transcribe his own words, because, to tell truth, not having his works at hand, I have taken these citations from another—but such another as may be most securely trusted—I mean the admirable Dr Pearson, in his "Vindication of Ignatius's Epistles," Part I, cap. xi, whither I can boldly refer G[ilbert] R[ule] or any man for my fidelity. I do not at present remember of any more contemporaries St Cyprian had in Egypt, of whose writings any thing is extant, except Dionysius, for whom I have already accounted,[2] having shown that God honoured him with extraordinary revelations, &c. Wherefore,

XXIV.—Let us to turn to Africa, and try if there we can find any more witnesses deposing for the Divine right of Prelacy. And indeed nothing can be plainer than the suffrages of Fortunatus à Thucabori[3] and Confessor Venantius à Tinisa,[4] who says expressly that "our Lord left the care of his Spouse to the Bishops." And Confessor Clarus à Muscula,[5] in the often mentioned Council of Carthage,

[1] [The translation is so correct, that I need only insert the reference. Lib. de Orat. sect. 62, p. 170.—E.]

[2] Cap. 10, sect. 8.

[3] Concil. Carthag. Suff. 16.

[4] Ibid. Suff. 29.

[5] Ibid. Suff. 79.

holden anno 256. It is farther colligible from divers other suffrages of that venerable Council, when taken by the right handle. It is not to be doubted but it was the common belief of all the eighty-seven Bishops; for it is most reasonable to believe all the rest were of the same faith with St Cyprian their Præses, and those other three just now named. And that so much the more, when it is considered that it is clearly attested by divers other African Synods (convocated in that age), as appears from their Synodical Epistles. Thus,

XXV.—That which is the 57th among St Cyprian's, is a Synodical Epistle written by forty Bishops besides St Cyprian, anno 252. And therein we have as clear an account of their faith as can be desired. They look upon themselves as Christ's lieutenant-generals, as it were, having commission from heaven to arm and animate his soldiers under their command,[1] and as the "pastors to whom the sheep are entrusted by the Chief Shepherd."[2] The 61st seems to have been another Synodical Epistle, congratulatory upon Lucius's return to the See of Rome; and there we have Bishops of Divine ordination.[3] The 67th Epistle is ordered by thirty-seven Bishops met in Synod, and giving their resolution of the case proposed to them concerning Martialis and Basilides, two lapsing Spanish Bishops. Now the Divine right of Episcopacy runs through the whole series of this Epistle. They call the Episcopal office *Sacerdotium Dei*, God's Priesthood; and they (as all of those times) were very far from thinking that men, of their own heads, might erect a priesthood to God. They affirm that God's law doth not allow that Basilides and Martialis should any longer hold their Bishoprics. They say that "God's law allows none to be Bishops but such as are without blemish, and men of integrity." They say that by the Divine law the

[1] —Plebem etiam nobis de *Divina dignatione commissam* exhortationibus nostris paremus, et omnes omnino milites Christi, qui arma desiderant, et prœlium flagitant intra castra Dominica colligamus. Ep. 57, p. 117.

[2] Nonne nobis vel negligentia segnis, vel duritia crudelis ascribetur in die judicii; quod *pastores creditas* et *commissas nobis oves* nec curare in pace, nec in acie voluerimus armare? Ibid. p. 118, et rursus—"Ne igitur——*oves nobis commissæ* à *Domino* reposcantur; placuit nobis, sancto Spiritu suggerente"—Ibid. p. 119.

[3] *Vide supra*, sect. 4.

people are bound to separate from lapsing Bishops. They affirm most plainly that it descends from Divine authority that a Bishop should be chosen in the presence of the people; and particularly concerning Martialis, they prove from Tit. i. 7, that he can no longer hold a Bishopric.[1] The 70th is another Synodical Epistle, signed by thirty-two Bishops, wherein Episcopacy is not only fairly founded on our Saviour's discourse to St Peter,[2] the argument so frequently insisted on by St Cyprian, as hath been observed, but also it is expressly affirmed by them that it was by the "Divine vouchsafement that they administrated God's Priesthood in his Church."[3] Another Synodical Epistle there is, the 72d in number, written to Stephen, Bishop of Rome, wherein it is expressly affirmed that the Episcopal authority is of Divine appointment,[4] and that the one altar (viz. the Bishop's Communion, &c.) is *Divine*, and the setting up of other altars in opposition to it, or independent on it, is to counteract a Divine ordinance.[5] Than which what plainer demonstration can be desired of their belief of the Divine right of Episcopacy?

XXVI.—That those in whose names these Synodical Epistles were written were Bishops in a proper sense—Bishops as contradistinguished from, and superior to Presbyters, has been fully demonstrated above, when it is proved that none but Bishops had definitive voices in Synods. And by what I have now represented, you may see how unanimously they do all agree in the belief of their having their

[1] ——"Basilidem et Martialem libellis idololatriæ commaculatos——Episcopatum gerere, et *sacerdotium Dei* administrare non oportere," Ep. 67, p. 170. Quin potius, totam epistolam legat eruditus lector.

[2] ——Una Ecclesia à Christo Domino super *Petrum* origine unitatis et ratione fundata——Ep. 70, p. 191.

[3] Quare qui cum Domino sumus, et unitatem Dei tenemus, et secundum ejus *dignationem sacerdotium ejus* administramus, quæcunque adversarii ejus et Antichristi faciunt, repudiare et rejicere, et pro profanis habere debemus——Ibid. p. 192.

[4] —— Quod magis pertineat, et ad *sacerdotalem auctoritatem*—de *Divinæ dispositionis ordinatione* venientem——Ep. 72, p. 196.

[5] Addimus plane et adjungimus——consensu et auctoritate communi, ut etiam si qui Presbyteri aut Diaconi, qui vel in Ecclesia Catholica prius ordinati fuerint, et postmodum perfidi ac rebelles contra Ecclesiam steterint, vel apud hæreticos à pseudo-episcopis et Antichristis *contra Christi dispositionem*, profana ordinatione promoti sint, et contra *altare unum* atque *divinum*, sacrificia foris falsa ac sacrilega offerre conati sint—Ibid. p. 197.

commission from Heaven, and that their office was of Divine appointment. Take them all together, and they make a goodly number of witnesses giving in very clear depositions. We have their names who were convocated in those Synods which wrote Epist. 57, 67, and 70, (according to Pamelius's numbers, 54, 68, 70,) prefixed to these Epistles. I have compared them, and found more than sixty different Bishops of them. It seems credible from St Cyprian's Epistle to Jubaianus, that there were seventy-one in that Synod which wrote Ep. 72 to Stephen, Bishop of Rome. There were eighty-seven (as has been frequently observed) in the great Synod, anno 256. May we not, without exceeding the bounds of a modest computation, reckon upon an hundred witnesses in Africa, when all those Synods are laid together?

XXVII.—Cross we now the midland sea to try if we have any friends in Europe. But whether shall we go when we are there? To Rome, without scruple, to Rome orthodox and uncorrupted,—to Rome whose Bishops in those days were holy Martyrs and Confessors, standing on a level with other Bishops, owning all other Bishops to be their colleagues, professing the Christian faith in great purity, and suffering for it, as great strangers to purgatory and transubstantiation, and the worshipping of images, &c. as to propagating or defending religion by arms, or the deposing principles. And now that we are there, let us begin with the noble testimony of those Roman Confessors who had once joined with Novatianus in his schism, but afterwards returned to the true communion, and submitted to Cornelius as rightful Bishop of Rome. Cornelius (sufficiently assured of their sincerity, and of their fixed resolution thereafter to be dutiful) convocates the Presbytery, and the returners are brought in, and make (no doubt after serious deliberation and premeditation) this fair and clear profession of their faith as to the interests of Episcopacy—"We know (or we acknowledge) that Cornelius is *chosen Bishop* of this most holy Catholic Church (the particular Church of Rome) by the *omnipotent God*, and by *our Lord Christ;* we confess our error; we have been imposed upon; we have been abused by treachery and ensnaring talk; for we are not ignorant that there is *one God* and *one Lord Christ*, whom we have

confessed, and *one Holy Ghost*, and that there *ought to be one Bishop* in a Catholic Church."[1] Here, you see, it is most plainly professed that Cornelius had a divine warrant to be Bishop of Rome. He was *chosen* by the *God of all power*, and by the *Lord Christ*. Doth not this import at least that he was promoted to the chair according to the will of God, and the rules laid down by Christ and his Apostles? I say, at least, for it may be fairly understood to import more, viz. that he was promoted by special and extraordinary designation. Nay, is it not notoriously imported in this profession that there was the same Divine authority for believing that there *ought* to be but *one Bishop* in one particular Church, that there was for believing that there is one God, one Lord Christ, and one Holy Ghost? Is not this their reasoning exactly of a piece to the same purpose, and upon the same principles with that of St Cyprian's, which we had before from Ep. 43, viz. that there is "One God, one Christ, one Church, and one Chair, by our Lord's voice founded on St Peter; another altar besides the *one altar* cannot be reared; another priesthood, besides the *one priesthood*, cannot be erected."[2] But this is not all.

XXVIII.—If we consider circumstances, and regard fair consequences, we must needs acknowledge that this was no less the belief of Cornelius and the five Bishops who were present, and all the Presbyters and Clergy, nay, of all the great concourse of the fraternity, all before whom the profession was made, returned thanks to God for it; they did all with tears express the joy of their hearts when they heard it; they did all most cheerfully embrace the returners that made it. With all speed that very same hour, (says Cornelius) the glad tidings were despatched to St Cyprian, that with all expedition he, his clergy, his people, nay all

[1] Nos, inquiunt, Cornelium *Episcopum* sanctissimæ Catholicæ Ecclesiæ, *electum* à *Deo omnipotente* et *Christo Domino nostro* scimus. Nos errorem nostrum confitemur: nos imposturam passi sumus. Circumventi sumus perfidia, et loquacitate captiosa: Nam etsi videbamur quasi quandam communicationem cum schismatico et hæretico homine habuisse; sincera tamen mens nostra semper in Ecclesia fuit. Nec enim ignoramus *unum Deum* esse, *unum Christum* esse *Dominum*, quem confessi sumus, *unum Spiritum Sanctum*, *unum Episcopum* in Catholica Ecclesia esse *debere*. Ep. 49, p. 93.

[2] *Deus unus* est, et *Christus unus*, et *una Ecclesia*, et *cathedra una super Petrum Domini voce fundata*. *Aliud altare* constitui, aut *sacerdotium novum* fieri præter *unum altare*, et *unum sacerdotium* non potest. Ep. 43, p. 83.

the Churches of Africa might render solemn thanks to Almighty God and our Lord for it,[1] which was accordingly done.[2] But how can it be imagined that Cornelius and all the rest of those at Rome, with so great joy, with so many tears, with such a ready cheerfulness, with so much unanimity, would have expressed their satisfaction with such a confession if they had not believed it to be orthodox? if they had not believed that to be of Divine right which was so positively affirmed by it to be so? Indeed,

XXIX.—That it was Cornelius's belief we have full assurance from his own Epistles that are extant. We have him reasoning to the same very purpose, and on the same very principles, against the same Novatianus whom the aforesaid Confessors renounced; this, I say, we have in one of his Epistles written to Fabius, Bishop of Antioch, as it is recorded by Eusebius,[3] where he says expressly that "Novatianus usurped, and by force seized the Bishopric when it was not given him from above."[4] Which may indeed import more, (viz. that he wanted extraordinary Divine designation, so common in those times) but cannot import less, than that his usurpation was therefore culpable, because it is contrary to the WISDOM WHICH IS FROM ABOVE;[5] the Gospel laws concerning the succession of Bishops. And what less than the Divine right of Episcopacy can be implied in that severe irony in that same Epistle—"The vindicator of the Gospel doth not know that there ought to be but one Bishop in a Church."[6] What less can be implied, I say, in this irony, than that Novatianus was a vindicator of the Gospel, very little skilled in the laws of the Gospel, (as some vindicators of the Kirk are in the monuments of the Church,) seeing he did not know that by these laws there could be only one Bishop at once in a Church? And it is plain it was on the same principles, and proceeded from the same belief, that the same Cornelius, in an Epistle to St Cyprian, says of the same Novatianus, viz. that he was "prostratus virtutibus Dei,"[7] that God appeared his enemy remarkably,

[1] Ep. 49, p. 93. [2] Ep. 51. [3] Euseb. H. E. lib. 6, cap. 43.

[4] Παρασπᾶσθαι τε και ὑφαρπάζειν τὴν μὴ δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ ἄνωθεν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐπεχείρει. —Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vi. cap. 43. [5] Jam. iii. 17.

[6] Ὁ ἐκδικητης οὐν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου οὐκ ἠπίστατο ἕνα ἐπισκοπον δεῖν εἶναι εν καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.—Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 43.

[7] Ep. inter Cyprianicas, 50, p. 94.

and in signal instances of vengeance, for his so very barefacedly affronting the Divine ordinance concerning the regular succession of Bishops.

XXX.—Nor is the faith of the Roman Presbyters and Deacons less evident, as appears from two Epistles written by them to St Cyprian, during the interval between the death of Fabianus and the promotion of Cornelius. In the one, having given their sentiment about the case of the Lapsers, and told how far they had proceeded in that matter, they say they can proceed no farther till *God shall give them a Bishop*.[1] In the other, their belief of the Divine right of Prelacy is more than once fairly intimated. They tell St Cyprian how much his vigour and his severity, so exactly agreeable to the *Evangelical discipline* in the administration of his Episcopacy, comforted them amidst their great pressures.[2] I have told before[3] how the Carthaginian Confessors behaved concerning the Lapsers, and what an insolent epistle they wrote to St Cyprian about that matter. That which I do now observe is, that the Roman Clergy do plainly pronounce it inconsistent with the *laws* of the *Gospel*, that Confessors should make such encroachments on the Bishop's prerogative.[4] And as for the Lapsers they say their best course would be to excite the clemency of God by submission, and allure the Divine mercy by giving *due honour* or obedience to *God's priest*, the Bishop;[5] indeed, nothing more

[1] ——nihil innovandum putavimus, sed Lapsorum curam mediocriter temperandam esse credidimus ; ut interim dum *Episcopus dari* à *Deo* nobis sustinetur, in suspenso eorum——causa teneatur. Ep. 30, p, 60.

[2] Mœroris nostri tam gravem sarcinam, vigor tuus, et secundum *Evangelicam disciplinam* adhibita severitas temperat. Ep. 36, p. 69.

[3] *Supra*, cap. 7, sect. 40.

[4] "Quod si aliunde prærogativam communicationis habere se credunt, cum *Evangelio* illam conferre conentur, ut ita demum firmiter valeat, si ab *Evangelica lege* non dissonat. Ceterum quo pacto *Evangelicam* poterit præstare communicationem, quod contra *Evangelicam* decretum videtur veritatem?" Ep. 36, p. 70. Hoc utique volunt (ut ex totius Epistolæ filo patet) nulla qualicunque sive Confessorum, sive Presbyterorum auctoritate posse per Evangelium pacem Lapsis, renuente vel invito Episcopo, concedi.

[5] Tempus igitur est ut agant (Lapsi) delicti pœnitentiam, ut probent lapsus sui dolorem, ut ostendant verecundiam, ut monstrent humilitatem, ut exhibeant modestiam, ut de submissione provocent in se *Dei* clementiam et de *honore debito in Dei sacerdote* (vel sacerdotem) eliciant in se *Divinam misericordiam*. Ep. 36, p. 71 ; Pamel. Ep. 30.

certain, as already hath been observed,[1] than that in that age it was universally and incontestedly received all the world over, that the Bishops of Rome were St Peter's successors. So that to suppose any Roman to have doubted of the Divine right of Episcopacy, is to suppose them to have doubted of that which by as obvious, as necessary consequence, followed from that which they did believe to be most certain.

XXXI.—Thus have we found the Divine right of Episcopacy to have been believed in Africa and Europe—go we next to Asia. It is true our witnesses there are not many —only two ; but these two as good as two hundred. Alexander and Firmilian are the men, the one Bishop of Jerusalem, the other of Cæsarea in Cappadocia. We have already observed how, by extraordinary and miraculous designation, Alexander himself was promoted to that Bishopric ; there were two or three special revelations about it. It was the *οἰκονομία Θεου*, God's special care for his Church that did it; there was *τὶ θεοπρόπιον* in it, something peculiar to God; a Divine oracle in the matter, as we learn from Eusebius.[2] This Alexander himself knew very well, and was persuaded of ; and not only so, but when, upon the death of Serapion, Asclepiades, a noble Confessor, was promoted to the chair of Antioch—Alexander wrote an Epistle to the Church of Antioch, congratulating their happiness, and telling them, that " his bonds turned light and easy to him when he heard that such an excellent and fit person was made their Bishop *κατα τὴν θείαν πρόνοιαν*, by the special favour of God.[3] Such was Alexander's belief, so was he persuaded concerning Episcopal promotions ; how then could he doubt of Episcopacy's being a Divine ordinance ! and truly, as has been observed before,[4] easily might he have known, and well might he have been assured what government was settled by the Apostles. Though he lived to be St Cyprian's contemporary—though he outlived by some years St Cyprian's promotion to the See of Carthage, yet it was about the year 212 that he was made helper to Narcissus in the See of Jerusalem—to Narcissus I say, aged then 116 years, and by consequence, born before the death of St John the Apostle.

[1] *Supra*, cap. 6, sect, 12, 13. [2] See Euseb. lib. 6, H. E. cap. 10, 11.
[3] Euseb. H. E. lib. 6, cap. 11. [4] *Supra*, cap. 1, sect. 46.

Come we now to Firmilian; and here my courage may seem a little surprizing to G[ilbert] R[ule]'s disciples; for G[ilbert] R[ule] hath said, in express terms, that Firmilian doth fully declare for Presbyterial government,[1] and my task is to prove that he believed Episcopacy to be of Divine institution. Here is opposition wide enough. Let us therefore proceed deliberately, and make two distinct enquiries in this matter.—1. Whether Firmilian doth fully declare for Presbyterian government? and, 2. whether he declares for the Divine right of Prelacy?—begin we with the first—

1. Whether Firmilian declares fully for Presbyterial government? one thing I am confident of, in the first place, namely, that there are strong presumptions against G[ilbert] R[ule]'s side of this question. Every man of common ingenuity, I think, after he has compared G[ilbert] R[ule]'s "Cyprianic Bishop Examined" with the "Principles of the Cyprianic Age," and this "Vindication" of them, will readily confess that the government of the Church in that age was notoriously Prelatical; but if it was so, and if it was so, so much upon the supposition that Episcopacy was of Divine right as I have hitherto proved it was, then certainly it is not very credible that any particular person of that age was against those common principles. It is not at all to be supposed, unless his declarations against them be so very plain and peremptory that without manifest force and violence they cannot be reconciled to the common and received principles. Let us therefore try what they are which G[ilbert] R[ule] calls Firmilian's full declarations for Presbytery. They are two.

The first is, that Firmilian hath these words.—"Qua ex causa necessario apud nos fit, ut per singulos annos Seniores et Præpositi in unum conveniamus ad disponenda ea quæ cure nostræ commissa sunt: ut si qua graviora sunt, communi consilio dirigantur."[2] "That is, for which cause we find it necessary with us, that once every year we, seniors and rulers, should meet together to order those things that are committed to our care, and if there are any matters of great consequence, to determine them with common advice." I wish G[ilbert] R[ule] had told us

[1] Sect. 37, p. 49.

[2] Ep. Firmil. inter Cyp. Ep. 75, p. 219.

where he laid the stress of his argument that he pretends to be in these words; but seeing he has not, let us enquire. Is it that those Seniores and Præpositi did meet in Synods? But there may be more Synods besides Presbyterian ones. Is it that they meet to order matters, &c.? Why might not Synods of Bishops have been convocated for that end too? Is it that they met every year? This looks more like to a Provincial Synod of Bishops, than to the meeting of a Presbytery. Is it that Firmilian called those who met in those yearly Synods, Seniores and Præpositi? But doth not G[ilbert] R[ule] acknowledge we have only a translation of Firmilian's Epistle, how then does he know but the words in the original might have given us more clear and distinct ideas of the characters of those who met in these Synods, than these words Seniores and Præpositi can afford us? Nay, suppose the words in the original to have been πρεσβύτεροι and προεστώτες, with what certainty can G[ilbert] R[ule] infer thence, that those who met were no other than Presbyters in the Presbyterian sense? What if these two terms signified men of two different orders? G[ilbert] R[ule] acknowledges Pamelius understood them so, nor has so much as attempted to render it incredible. He has indeed drawn a most surprizing inference from Pamelius's taking Seniores to signify Presbyters, and Præpositi, Bishops, as has been already observed.[1] But what needs more: Have I not fully and distinctly accounted for the constitution of Provincial Synods in the days of Firmilian? Have I not demonstratively shewn that Bishops, and none but Bishops, Bishops properly so called, Bishops as contradistinguished from, and superior to Presbyters, had decisive voices in them? Nay, have I not particularly accounted for that very Synod of Iconium which Firmilian mentions, and made it clear as light that it was a Synod of Bishops?[2]

Neither is G[ilbert] R[ule] happier in his other argument to prove that Firmilian was a Presbyterian. It is taken from these words of the Father,—"Omnis potestas et gratia in Ecclesia est constituta, ubi præsident majores natu (πρεσβύτεροι says G[ilbert] R[ule]) qui et baptizandi, et manum imponendi et ordinandi possident potestatem." This

[1] *Supra*, cap. 11, sect. 27. [2] *Supra*, cap. 7, sect. 12, &c. N. B. sect. 19.

testimony, I say, is as far as the former from being a full declaration for Presbyterian government; for 1. As confident as G[ilbert] R[ule] is in asserting that πρεσβύτεροι was Firmilian's term, which St Cyprian (or whoever was the translator) turned into *majores Natu*.

Yet were he put to it, I doubt it would trouble him to prove it. There are divers other Greek words which might have been so translated. Polycrates, I remember, in his famous Epistle recorded by Eusebius,[1] uses the word μείζονες. And Gregorius Thaumaturgus in his Canonical Epistle calls Euphrosinus, who probably was one of his Presbyters, not συμπρεσβύτερον, but συγγέροντα, his fellow senior;[2] so that it is possible Firmilian's word was γέροντες. Nor is it without reason to affirm that it is more probable it was one of these two, or perhaps some third, rather than πρεσβύτεροι; for if St Cyprian was the translator, his master Tertullian's word *Seniores* had probably sooner occurred to him to have rendered πρεσβύτεροι by. This is certain, it had been more proper and significant than *majores Natu*, a term divers times used indeed by St Cyprian, but never so much as once to denote one that had the character of a single Presbyter. Whoever was the translator, it seems probable that Firmilian's word was not πρεσβύτεροι, from this, that the word *Presbyteri* is kept in the Latin, where it is certain that the Greek word was πρεσβύτεροι. Thus, where the account is given of the false Prophetess that cheated many at Cæsarea, it runs thus:—"Hic et unum de Presbyteris rusticum, item et alium Diaconum fefellit."[3] But not to spend time needlessly about such conjectures; say that it was the word πρεσβύτεροι, what can G[ilbert] R[ule] or his cause gain by it? Who knows not that this word in those earlier times was frequently taken in a laxer sense, as well as in the stricter; but if so, then the Latin will very naturally bear to be turned thus into Scottish.—"No heretics who have cut themselves off from the Church of God can have any power or grace, seeing all power and grace is confined to the Church, in which such elders do preside as have the power of baptism, of imposing the hand and ordination." And that the Bishops, as making a distinct order from Presbyters, had the "sove-

[1] H. E. lib. 5, cap. 25. [2] Canon 5. [3] Epist. Firm. p. 222, 223.

reign power of baptism, imposing the hand, and ordination" is not now to be proved.[1] Bishops then as contradistinguished from Presbyters were Firmilian's *majores Natu.* Indeed nothing more evident than this from the account of the Synod of Iconium immediately subjoined, as has been already considered.[2] Now, though what hath been said might be enough to shew that Firmilian has made no full declarations for Presbyterial government, yet it is not all; for.

XXXVI.—Doth not Firmilian more than once in express terms declare himself to be of the same principle in every thing with St Cyprian, who, I think, has made pretty full declarations for Prelatical government.[3] Doth he not give us an account (as I have already hinted) of a false Prophetess that ensnared (besides many other people) one of the Presbyters and one of the Deacons of Cæsarea, where himself was Bishop? And doth not this import that there were more Presbyters than one in that city? but if there were more Presbyters and only one Bishop—if by the unquestionable principles of that age, whatever might have been the number of Presbyters, yet there could not be more than one Bishop at once in one city—if by all the monuments of that age (as we shall see by and by) Firmilian was certainly the one Bishop in that city, wherein there were many Presbyters; then let any man judge whether Firmilian, when he mentions one of the Presbyters of that city, does not, by irresistible consequence, declare that the government of the Church in that city was of the same form with the government of other Churches in that age? *i. e.* a government *undoubtedly Prelatical.* Again, doth he not most fairly imply that the government of the Churches in the East, where he lived, was of the same constitution with the government of the Churches of the West and South, where

[1] *Supra*, cap. 6, sect. 53, &c. [2] *Supra*, cap. 7, sect. 19, &c.

[3] Gratias propter hoc Domino maximas egimus; quod——sic Spiritu adunemur; quasi non unam tantum regionem tenentes, sed in ipsa atque in eadem domo simul inhabitantes. Ep. 75, p. 217.

Cum magna lætitia exultavimus et Deo gratias egimus, quia invenimus in fratribus tam longe positis tantam nobiscum fidei et veritatis unanimitatem. Ibid. p. 218.

Nos vero ea quæ à vobis scripta sunt, quasi nostra propria suscipimus, nec in transcursu legimus, sed sæpe repetita memoriæ mandavimus—Ibid. p. 219, et passim.

it was notoriously Prelatical? Doth he not most fairly imply this, I say, when he is chastizing Stephen, Bishop of Rome, for his schismatical temper, his unreasonable heats, his inhuman rudenesses to those Bishops, who were sent as legates to him by the Bishops of the African Churches? Doth he not there speak of Bishops in the common dialect? in the very same dialect in which St Cyprian and all his other contemporaries spake, when they spake of Bishops as contradistinguished from Presbyters? Consider what you have on the margin;[1] once more, doth he not most clearly distinguish Bishops from all other clergymen in the very conclusion of his Epistle?[2] Indeed,

XXXVII.—Few persons lived in that age of whom it is more copiously recorded that they were Bishops than Firmilian; Eusebius says of him, that at what time Origen went to those parts, Firmilian, Bishop of Cæsarea of the Cappadocians (διέπρεπε), made a singular figure.[3] He reckons him as much and as properly a Bishop, as Xystus was of Rome, or Demetrianus of Antioch, or Domnus of Cæsarea, in Palestine, or Hymenæus of Jerusalem, &c.; nay, Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, one of Firmilian's contemporaries, in an Epistle recorded by Eusebius,[4] reckons him amongst the περι φανεστέρους Επισκοπους—the most illustrious Bishops of that age, and as much a proper Bishop as any of the rest whom he names there. Again, Eusebius accounting for that Synod that was convocated in Antioch to enquire into the heresy of Paulus Samosatenus, not only tells that Firmilianus,

[1] Excidisti enim teipsum; (Stephanum intelligit) noli te fallere. Siquidem ille est vere schismaticus, qui se à communione Ecclesiasticæ unitatis apostatam fecerit. Dum enim putas omnes à te *abstineri* posse, solum te ab omnibus *abstinuisti* (abstinuit igitur sive excommunicavit Stephanus Episcopos de baptismo hæreticorum à se dissentientes)——Quid enim humilius aut lenius (ironicè hæc) quam cum tot *Episcopis* per totum mundum dissensisse; pacem cum singulis vario discordiæ genere rumpentem, modo cum Orientalibus, (quod nec vos, (Africanos,) latere confidimus) modo vobiscum, qui in meridie estis? A quibus legatos *Episcopos* patienter satis et leniter suscepit, ut eos nec ad sermonem saltem colloquii communis admitteret: adhuc insuper dilectionis et caritatis memor, præciperet fraternitati universæ, ne quis eos in domum suam reciperet; ut venientibus non solum pax et communio, sed et tectum et hospitium negaretur—Ep. 75, p. 228.

[2] Bene te valere omnibus nobis, cum universis qui in Africa sunt *Episcopis*, et cunctis Clericis, et omni fraternitate universi optamus—Ibid. p. 229. [3] Lib. 6, cap. 26. [4] Lib. 7, cap. 5.

Gregorius, Athenodorus, Helenus, Nicomas, Hymenaus, Theotecnus and Maximus, διέπρεπον, were the most remarkable Bishops that were there; but he expressly distinguishes the Bishops from the Presbyters and Deacons.[1] And not Eusebius only, but the next Synod which met in that place upon that same account, in their Synodical Epistle do most plainly distinguish the three orders; and withal, as plainly determine Firmilian by name to have been as much the one Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, as Dionysius was of Alexandria.[2] And no man that weighs things as they ought to be weighed, but will readily acknowledge, that it was as to an eminent Bishop in those parts that St Cyprian wrote to him the Epistle, to which his is an answer.

XXXVIII.—Much more might have been said, but let even these things be laid together, the common principles and universal practice of that age, whereby the government of Churches was notoriously Prelatical—the no evidence of Firmilian's being for Presbyterian parity—the great evidences in his Epistle that he declared for Prelacy—and the unanimous and consentient accounts of Eusebius, Dionysius, nay of a whole Synod of his contemporaries, bearing witness that he was a most notable Bishop—a Bishop of a singular authority and singular accomplishments—Bishop of Cæsarea of Cappadocia, a famous city, in which there was a famous Church, which required the subordinate labours of many Presbyters. Lay these things together, I say, and then judge with what reason G[ilbert] R[ule] could say that Firmilian did fully declare for Presbyterial government. Proceed we now

XXXIX.—2. To our other enquiry, viz. whether Firmilian has declared for the Divine right of Episcopacy? an enquiry which is indeed fully determined already, particularly where it is proved that Firmilian, upon the same principles with St Cyprian, has positively declared his belief to have been that Bishops were successors to the Apostles in the supreme power Ecclesiastical—that he plainly founded the Episcopal order on our Lord's words to St Peter, and that he fairly allowed Stephen, as Bishop of Rome, to have sat in St Peter's chair, &c.;[3] and certainly his faith in this matter might be collected from divers other intimations in his

[1] Lib. 7, cap. 28. [2] Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 30.

[3] See above, cap. 6, sect. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

Epistle. I shall instance only in one. After he has most severely and briskly chastised Stephen, Bishop of Rome, (as has been already intimated) for his unbrotherly behaviour towards such of his colleagues as dissented from him, he concludes with affirming that such his behaviour was [contra sacramentum et fidem] against God's ordinance and the laws of Christianity,[1] from which the consequence is so obvious, that to name it is enough, viz. that Firmilian believed that it was by Divine appointment that all Bishops were combined into one College, as well as obliged to maintain unity. Firmilian was no Papist, indeed, as is plain from the whole series of his Epistle; and by this time, methinks, it is as evident that he was no Presbyterian.

XL.—Before I proceed farther, let me interpose one caution, it is, that although I am very well satisfied that St Cyprian, Firmilian, and whosoever else in those days reasoned from our Lord's building his Church on St Peter, &c. for the Divine institution of Episcopacy, did reason solidly, and upon good and firm principles, as hath been demonstrated most fully and clearly by the admirable Mr Dodwell in his notable "Seventh Cyprianic Dissertation;" yet if G[ilbert] R[ule] or any of his brethren shall think fit to examine what I have said, they must not think they have done enough when they have raised mists against such reasonings as were used by those Fathers for asserting the Divine institution of Episcopacy. They must remember, I say, that our present enquiry is, whether they believed such an institution? and not whether the arguments were good which moved them to believe so; for who knows not that it is very ordinary for men very firmly to believe, sometimes truth, sometimes errors, when yet in the meantime their faith is founded on very insufficient arguments? this I thought fit to say for preventing of unnecessary disputes. Return we now to our main business.

XLI.—One witness remains yet to be examined, concerning whom we must follow the same method which we took

[1] After what you have above, sect. 36, it immediately follows thus in Firmilian's Epistle,—"Hoc est servasse unitatem Spiritus in conjunctione pacis, abscindere se à caritatis unitate, et alienum se per omnia fratribus (Episcopis) facere, et *contra sacramentum* et *fidem*, contumacis furore discordiæ rebellare. Apud talem (qualis est Stephanus) potest esse unum corpus et unus Spiritus, apud quem fortasse ipsa anima una non est, sic lubrica et mobilis et incerta?" p. 228.

about Firmilian; that is, we must first purge him of Presbyterianism, and then try how he deposes concerning the Divine right of Prelacy. Pontius is the man; and G[ilbert] R[ule] says of him, that it is plain he thought all degrees were included in *Sacerdotium* and *Presbyterium*, which he took for one.[1] All Church degrees! what? did Pontius believe ruling elders, deacons, sub-deacons, &c. to be priests? but to go on with G[ilbert] R[ule,] he will have it to appear from Pontius's account that Cyprian was made Priest, Presbyter, and Bishop all at once, as being the same thing.[2] So G[ilbert] R[ule] has affirmed. Let us try with what reason, in a word, with none at all, as I shall now shew, as briefly as I can, I hope even to G[ilbert] R[ule]'s conviction; but let us proceed distinctly—and I say

XLII.—The first of G[ilbert] R[ule]'s assertions is plainly founded upon a wrong reading. G[ilbert] R[ule] reads thus—"Nulla mora, nulla dilatio, Presbyterium et Sacerdotium statum accepit quis enim non omnes honorum gradus crederet tali menti?" Now, besides that, this is very coarse Latin, "Sacerdotium statum accepit," unworthy of Pontius, who, if we may believe St Jerome,[3] wrote a choice volume of the life and passion of St Cyprian. Besides that, this reading makes very bad sense of the whole period; for why subjoin "quis enim non omnes honorum gradus," &c. if he was only promoted to one degree? Besides these things, I say G[ilbert] R[ule]'s reading was not to be found in any of all the more than thirty manuscripts, considered and compared by the ingenuous, as well as learned and laborious Dr Fell, before he published the edition of St Cyprian's works which I make use of. All of them that have this work of Pontius's read thus—"Mora denique circa gratiam Dei nulla, nulla dilatio. Parum dixi; Presbyterium et *Sacerdotium statim* accepit (or emersit). Quis enim non omnes honorum gradus crederet tali mente credenti?" So Blondel likewise has it.[4] By which reading it is not only plain that the "mora nulla" and the "dilatio nulla" were "circa gratiam Dei," but also that Pontius very clearly distinguished between "Presbyterium" and "Sacerdotium," which

[1] Sect. 37, p. 50.

[2] Ibid.

[3] ——Egregium volumen vitæ et passionis Cypriani reliquit. Hieron. Catal. Script. Eccles.

[4] Apol. pro sent. Hieron. p. 45.

latter term, in the dialect of those times, was most frequently put for "Episcopatus," as any man may have observed who has read from the beginning of this book. So that Pontius's true meaning is most plain and obvious, viz. that St Cyprian, a little after his conversion, was made a Presbyter, and shortly thereafter a Bishop.

XLIII.—That this is the genuine reading must be evident to any who considers how naturally and sweetly it pieces with the next words—"Quis enim non omnes honorum gradus crederet tali mente credenti?" Who would not have given all the degrees of honour to such an excellent believer? How appositely, I say, doth this follow upon an enumeration of different degrees of honour, especially when one of them is the highest? And how senseless (as I have said) had it been, if the *Presbyterium* and the *Sacerdotium* had been but one degree? This was the sense St Jerome understood Pontius in, for he most manifestly distinguishes between St Cyprian's ordination to be a Presbyter, and his ordination to be a Bishop.[1] So doth Eusebius and Cassiodorus.[2] And what can be plainer in the history of those times than that the same person was promoted to these different degrees of honour by different ordination?[3] Indeed,

XLIV.—Whoso shall attentively read Pontius's account of the life of St Cyprian, shall be obliged in all reason to acknowledge that Pontius meant no less than that St Cyprian was first raised to the degree of a Priest, and thereafter to the degree of a Bishop; which, if it can be made to appear, may oblige G[ilbert] R[ule] to consider whether he was not a little rash when he said that by Pontius's account Cyprian was made Priest, Presbyter, and Bishop all at once. That I may put this matter beyond all future controversy, take Pontius's account by these steps—

XLV.—1. Pontius fairly represents St Cyprian as having first been a Deacon before he was either Presbyter or Bishop. "While he was *one of us* (says he), he had an intimacy with

[1] Post non multum temporis, electus in Presbyterium, (Cyprianus) etiam Episcopus Carthaginiensis constitutus est. Hieron. Catal.

[2] Cyprianus primum rhetor, deinde Presbyter, ad extremum Carthaginiensis Episcopus martyrio coronatur. Euseb. Chron. ad anno 259; and Marcus Aurelius Cassiodorus, in his "Chronicon," transcribes the same very words.

[3] See Principles of the Cyprianic Age, p. 19, 20.

Cæcilius, an excellent person, who was then both by age and by honour a Presbyter."[1] While he was *one of us*, that is, while he was a Deacon, as I take it, for such was Pontius; and this gloss seems to be put beyond all question by that which forthwith follows about the respect and deference which our Martyr did then pay to that venerable Presbyter.[2]

XLVI.—2. He raises him to the Presbyterate, and that in such terms as clearly import that he was afterward raised to an higher dignity;[3] and he gives a particular account of his behaviour while he was a Presbyter—how he contemned the world, how all were welcome to his house, how charitable he was, how humble, how compassionate, how diligent, &c.[4] And then,

XLVII.—3. He makes him a Bishop, and that with so many notorious peculiarities, with so many notable differences, to distinguish the degree of a Bishop from that of a Presbyter, that nothing seems to me more marvellous than that some learned men, who without question had read and considered what Pontius has written, should yet have had the confidence to cite him as making the Presbyterate and Episcopate all one degree. Take as many as may justify this my assertion in the following train. And,

XLVIII.—1. Having accounted for his behaviour while a Presbyter and a Deacon, and coming to account how he was made a Bishop, he has this remarkable transition—"It would be tedious to go through his excellencies one by one, it would be troublesome to enumerate all his holy performances; this alone I judge proof enough of his good works, that by the determination of God, and the favour of the people, he was chosen to the office of the Priesthood and the degree of a Bishop—(which two phrases in the language

[1] Erat sane illi (Cypriano) etiam *de nobis* contubernium viri justi et laudabilis memoriæ Cæcilii, et ætate tunc et honore Presbyteri—Pont. Vit. Cyp. p. 3.

[2] Hunc toto honore atque omni observantia diligebat, obsequenti veneratione suspiciens——Ibid.

[3] Multa sunt quæ adhuc plebeius, multa quæ jam Presbyter fecit—p. 2.

[4] Contemtis ille dispendiis rei familiaris—domus ejus patuit cuicunque veniente. Nulla vidua reversa est sinu vacuo: nullus indigens lumine, non illo comite directus est: nullus debilis gressu, non illo bajulo vectus est: nullus nudus auxilio de potentioris manu, non illo tutore protectus est—p. 3.

of those times do both signify one thing, and the one is only exegetic of the other)—while he was but a novice, and as some thought, an unexperienced Christian."[1] What can be clearer than that this transition is a handsome address to the account of his promotion to the chair Episcopal? But this is not all, for,

XLIX.—2. Pontius, as I remember I have already accounted,[2] gives a full account of the zealous inclinations and the affectional eagerness of the people to have him their Bishop; how they manifested an earnestness for it, that looked like the effect of Divine inspiration; how when they heard that he had resolved to retire and refuse to be made Bishop, they besieged the doors of his house, and guarded all the avenues, how anxious they were to find him.[3] Was this like the concern of the people about having one to be a Presbyter of the city of Carthage? Is there any such account in all antiquity of the people's anxiety to have one raised to the degree of a simple Presbyter? But neither is this all, for,

L.—3. Pontius records it as a thing very remarkable, (and nothing more remarkable for our present purpose), that when he was thus both designed and desired by the people, yet he retired and lurked, as hath been already intimated, and that for this reason, that he was willing to yield the preferment to such as were more antient Presbyters;[4] and 4. That some of those who were more antient Presbyters did what they could to hinder his promotion to the Bishopric. These two laid together make up such a demonstration (as I take it) of Pontius's distinguishing between St Cyprian's preferment, first to be a Presbyter, and after that to be a Bishop, that I am confident no man of candour can resist its evidence when it is fully represented. I shall do it as briefly as I can, by laying together what both Pontius and our Martyr himself have told us about it. "Though I am

[1] Longum est ire per singula: sancta ejus facta onerosum est enumerare. Ad probationem bonorum operum, solum hoc arbitror satis esse: quod *judicio Dei* et plebis favore ad *officium sacerdotii et Episcopatus gradum* adhuc Neophytus, et ut putabatur, novellus electus est. Pont. Vit. Cyp. p. 3.

[2] Cap. 7, sect. 38. [3] Ibid. sect. 38.

[4] Non prætcribo etiam illud eximium——humiliter ille secessit *antiquioribus cedens.* Pont. Vit. Cyp. p. 3.

unwilling," says Pontius, "to tell it, yet tell it I must. Some did resist his promotion, though he overcame them. With what lenity, with what patience, with what cheerfulness, with what clemency did he pardon them? How generously, how much to the admiration of many did he afterwards admit them to his friendship, and allow them a place amongst his intimates? What a miracle was it that he who had so quick a memory should yet so quickly have forgot such opposition!"[1] so Pontius. Let us next hear St Cyprian himself in his 43d Epistle, written to his people when Felicissimus and the five Presbyters made the separation. "The malignity and perfidiousness of some Presbyters," says he, "hath made it impracticable for me to come to you before Easter; which Presbyters, mindful of their conspiracy, and retaining their antient venom against my promotion to the Bishopric, nay, against your suffrage and the Divine judgment, do reinforce their old attempts against me, and do again set on foot their sacrilegious devices with their accustomed subtilties. And now, indeed, Divine Providence so ordering it, though I neither willed nor wished it, nay, though I pardoned them and held my peace, they have incurred the punishment which they have merited. Though they were not excommunicated by me, they have wilfully excommunicated themselves,"[2] &c. And again, in that same Epistle, the age or seniority of those Presbyters is noted as one of

[1] Invitus dico; sed dicam necesse est. Quidam illi restiterunt, etiam ut vinceret. Quibus tamen quanta lenitate, quam patienter, quam benevolenter indulsit, quam clementer ignovit, amicissimos eos postmodum et inter necessarios computans, mirantibus multis? cui enim posset non esse miraculo, tam memoriosæ mentis oblivio? Pont. Vit. Cyp. p. 3, 4.

[2] "Hoc enim quorundam Presbyterorum malignitas et perfidia perfecit, ne ad vos ante diem Paschæ venire licuisset: dum conjurationis suæ memores, et antiqua illa contra Episcopatum meum, imo contra suffragium vestrum et Dei judicium venena retinentes, instaurant veterem contra nos impugnationem suam, et sacrilegas machinationes insidiis solitis denuo revocant. Et quidem de Dei providentia nobis hoc nec volentibus, nec optantibus, imo et ignoscentibus, et tacentibus, pœnas quas meruerant rependerunt, ut à nobis non ejecti ultro se ejicerent, ipsi in se pro conscientia sua sententiam darent, secundum vestra divina suffragia; conjurati et scelerati de Ecclesia sponte se pellerent." Ep. 43, p. 81, 82, et rursus—"Ne *ætas* vos eorum nec *auctoritas* fallat; qui ad duorum Presbyterorum veterem nequitiam respondentes, sicut illi Susannam pudicam corrumpere et violare conati sunt: sic et hi adulterinis doctrinis Ecclesiæ pudicitiam corrumpere, et veritatem Evangelicam violare conantur."—Ibid. p. 83.

the chief springs of their grudge and resentments.—" Let neither their *age* nor their *authority* deceive you,"(says he to his people), " they do but act over again the wickedness of the two elders against Susannah," &c. Now,

LI.—Lay these things together. What can be plainer than that the *antiquiores* to whom he was willing to have yielded the preference, were antienter Presbyters? What plainer by necessary consequence, than that the promotion he was willing to have declined, and which those Presbyters opposed, was a higher one than the Presbyterate? What plainer than that it galled them, that he who probably was the youngest of all the Presbyters of Carthage, had been but some few months in that station, should have been preferred to themselves, who had been Presbyters (some of them at least) so very long before him? How could either he have been willing to yield the preference to them, or they angry that he should have been preferred, if the preferment was to no higher station than that of a Presbyter?—if it was only a preferment, they were before in possession of?—a dignity wherein they could not but have the preference of him by their very being preferred to it before him. Nay, what plainer than that St Cyprian was preferred to a degree which clothed him with a power whereby he might have punished them?—punished them with the highest Ecclesiastical punishment, excommunication itself, had he had a mind for it—a power which his very being clothed with, made his clemency so conspicuous in forbearing to punish them for the oppositions they made to his preferment to it, when he might have done it. How could he have been clothed with a power so visibly sovereign as that is which has the dispensation of punishments and pardons, even with regard to Presbyters, if he was raised to no higher power than that of a single Presbyter? Would they not, in that case, have stood on a level with him? How then could he have had any power at all over them? especially, how could it have been consistent with the principles of Presbyterian government, that one Presbyter, and he the younger too, should have been allowed a power to excommunicate five Presbyters, each of them ancienter than himself—five Presbyters probably making the major part of the Presbytery? A thousand such questions might be asked; but even these, I

doubt, shall be hard enough for G[ilbert] R[ule] or any of his brethren. Let me advance to another step.

LII.—5. Pontius having thus undeniably raised our Martyr from the degree of a Presbyter to that of a Bishop, most remarkably begins thence, as from a new era—"Exinde quemadmodum se gesserit, quis referre sufficiat?" That is, in effect, St Cyprian behaved himself so wonderfully after he was made Bishop, that it is not easy to write his encomium. However, Pontius goes on to give a brief account of him and of his way, quite different from what he gave of him before, while he was a Presbyter. Now it is—"Quæ illi pietas? qui vigor? Misericordia, quanta? quanta censura?" That is, how admirable was his paternal affection, his vigour, his clemency, his discipline.[1] But I am not able to translate to the life the pretty account Pontius gives of his mien, his way, his garb, every thing about him after he was made Bishop; take it therefore in his own words on the margin.[2] In short,

LIII.—6. Pontius accounts particularly, 1. How as a Bishop, and making such a figure, he was proscribed.[3] 2. How God had a singular care of him, to preserve him as an instrument that was to do many excellent services to the Church, by his writings, by his prudent advices, by his singular example, by his well poised discipline, &c. by his zeal for unity,[4] and his many other excellent accomplishments. 3. How careful he was, while Bishop, about Ecclesiastical promotions, receiving none into holy orders but fit and worthy persons.[5] 4. How as Bishop he was the second time banished.[6] 5. How, by the special providence of God, his

[1] Pont. Vit. Cyp. p. 4.

[2] Tantum sanctitatis et gratiæ ex ore ejus lucebat, ut confunderet intuentium mentes. Gravis vultus et lætus: nec severitas tristis, nec comitas nimia, sed admixta utrinque temperies; ut esset ambigere, vereri plus an diligi mereretur: nisi quod et vereri et diligi merebatur. Sed nec cultus fuit dispar à vultu, temperatus et ipse de medio. Non illum superbia secularis inflaverat: nec tamen prorsus affectata penuria sordidarat; quia et hoc vestitus genus à jactantia minus non est, quam ostenta taliter ambitiosa frugalitas. Quid autem circa pauperes *Episcopus* faceret, quos catechumenus diligebat; viderint pietatis Antistites, seu quos ad officium boni operis instruxit ipsius ordinis disciplina, seu quos sacramenti religio communis, ad obsequium exhibendæ dilectionis artavit. Cyprianum de suo talem accepit *cathedra*, non fecit.—Ibid. p. 4.

[3] Ibid. p. 4.

[4] Ibid. p. 5.

[5] Distributa sunt ergo continuo, pro qualitate hominum atque ordinum ministeria.—Ibid. p. 6.

[6] Ibid. p. 6.

martyrdom was delayed, till he, as Bishop, might put the affairs of his Church in good order.[1] 6. How Providence ordered, that just before his last trial, he should have the honour of a Bishop in the very Prætorium.[2] How he was sentenced as a Bishop.[3] And in fine, 8. How he was executed as a Bishop.[4] And now, by this time, methinks the reader may judge whether Pontius looked on the *Presbyteratus* and the *Episcopatus* as the same degree; whether by his account St Cyprian was made Priest, Presbyter, and Bishop, all at once, as being the same thing, as G[ilbert] R[ule] would have it.

LIV.—It remains now that we enquire whether Pontius (as the rest of his contemporaries) believed Episcopacy to be of Divine right? An enquiry capable of a very easy discussion; for who can imagine (though we had no more) that Pontius the Deacon did not believe as St Cyprian his beloved Bishop believed? But we have much more; for Pontius having raised him to the Episcopal chair, always bestows such names and epithets upon him as may very securely persuade us of his belief in the matter. He calls him "Christi et Dei Pontifex"—"Ille Dei Pontifex"—"Sacerdos Dei"—"Antistes Dei"—"Christi et Dei Princeps." God's Bishop—that Bishop of God—God's Priest—God's Prelate—God and his Christ's Prince. He expressly says he was chosen "Dei judicio," by God's special designation; that it was "adspirante Domino," by Divine inspiration that the people were so earnest to have him their Bishop; and that it was "Divinitatis præsagio," that they were so desirous of him. He gives an account of divers extraordinary revelations God honoured him (as a Bishop) with, as when he commanded him to retire in the time of the Decian per-

[1] Quæ vero res illi, aut quæ voluntas ordinanda, nisi Ecclesiastici status? Suprema iccirco accepta dilatio est, ut quicquid circa pauperum fovendorum curam supremo judicio disponendum fuerat, ordinaretur.—Pont. Vit. Cyp. p. 80.

[2] Sedile autem erat fortuito linteo tectum, ut et sub ictu passionis *Episcopatus honore* frueretur—Ibid. p. 9.

[3] Legit itaque de tabula jam sententiam judex——sententiam spiritalem non temere dicendam; sententiam *Episcopo* tali, et tali teste condignam; sententiam gloriosam; in qua dictus est sectæ *signifer*—Ibid. p. 9.

[4] ——O beatum Ecclesiæ populum, qui *Episcopo suo* tali, et oculis pariter et sensibus, et quod est amplius, publicata voce compassus est.—Ibid. p. 10.

secution.[1] And represented to him by a vision, not only the general scheme, but most of the particular circumstances of his martyrdom.[2] He says "he served God entirely;" which, how could he have done if he had "usurped an unlawful station, an unwarranted office, an Ecclesiastical tyranny, a Church domination," &c. not only without, but against Divine authority. He says "it was the way to please God the Father, and Christ our Judge, to be subject to him."[3] He accounts how God peculiarly befriended him, in providing a pleasant retreat for him in the days of his proscription—how God preserved him and protected him as a singularly useful member of his Church. He says, that as a Bishop, he was made a sacrifice well-pleasing to God by his martyrdom;[4] that there was a special hand of Divine favour in the whole conduct of it; nay, that the very sentence (like Caiphas his prophecy concerning our Saviour) though pronounced by a wicked person, was of Divine inspiration.[5] All these fair evidences (and many more) Pontius gives us, of his firm belief of the Divine approbation of Episcopacy; and G[ilbert] R[ule], I hope, will not deny but the consequence is just, from the belief of Divine approbation, to the belief of Divine institution. To conclude, Pontius (as hath been observed before) did plainly believe that Bishops succeeded to the Apostles, and that there had always (since the very founding of it) been Bishops in the Church of Carthage, in a constant regular succession to the Apostles; and he expressly calls the Episcopal office an Heavenly Priesthood, which can import nothing more naturally than that it had an Heavenly original. Nothing plainer than all this, from his own words, as you have them on the margin,[6] and so much about Pontius.

[1] Pont. Vit. Cyp. p. 5. [2] Ibid. p. 7, fusè.

[3] Sed quis non sub tanto doctore properaret inveniri in parte aliqua talis militiæ, per quam placeret et Deo Patri, et judici Christo, et tam bono interim *sacerdoti?* Ibid. p. 6.

[4] Hi erant quotidiani actus destinati ad placentem Deo hostiam *sacerdotis*. Ibid. p. 8.

[5] *Vide supra*, sect. 53 [3], et adde——"nihil hac sententia plenius, nihil verius; omnia quippe quæ dicta sunt, licet à gentili dicta, *divina* sunt." Ibid. p. 10.

[6] Sic consummata passione perfectum est; ut Cyprianus, qui bonorum omnium fuerat exemplum, etiam *sacerdotales* (*i. e.* Episcopales) coronas in Africa primus imbueret; quia et talis esse *post Apostolos* prior cœperat. Ex

LV.—Thus I have represented the belief of St Cyprian and his contemporaries as to the Divine right of Episcopacy. The number of depositions that this Divine right was then universally believed is very great. It was the belief of all the Bishops, and by good consequence (all things considered) of all the Chistians in Africa. It was the belief of Bishops, Clergy, and people of Rome, the best evidence that can be expected of the common faith of the European—of Dionysius and Origen, two unexceptionable witnesses of the faith of the Egyptians—and of Alexander and Firmilian, every way as famous witnesses of the belief of the Eastern or Asiatic Churches. It was indeed the belief of all persons of all orders, degrees, ranks, and qualities—Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, inferior Ministers, Martyrs, Confessors, persevering Christians, perfidious Lapsers, orthodox believers, heretics, Catholics, schismatics, clergy, laics, learned, unlearned, &c. Not so much as one testimony in the monuments of that age to the contrary; no article of the Christian faith more unanimously, more incontestedly, more universally received. I will be bold to challenge G[ilbert] R[ule], or any Presbyterian in Scotland, to produce one witness, of whatsoever quality—I shall not say formally deposing, but probably insinuating—that Prelacy was an human invention, an office introduced into the Church after the days, or by a lesser authority than that of the Apostles.

LVI.—Shall I add another consideration of no small weight in this matter? It is this—No age of the Church assignable wherein Christians closer adherents to Divine authority, or stricter observers of Divine institutions, or nicer requirers of Divine warrant for every thing proposed to be received by them;—never age wherein innovations more carefully guarded against, or human inventions more zealously rejected, or recessions from Divine appointments more religiously remonstrated against or repudiated. On

quo enim Carthagini *Episcopatus ordo numeratur*, nunquam aliquis, quamvis ex bonis et sacerdotibus, ad Passionem venisse memoratur; licet semper Deo mancipata devotio, dicatis hominibus pro martyrio deputetur: Cyprianus tamen etiam ad perfectam coronam Domino consummante profecit; ut in civitate ipsa, in qua taliter vixerat, et in qua prior fecerat multa præclara, prior etiam *sacerdotii cœlestis* insignia glorioso cruore decoraret. Pont. Vit. Cyp. p. 10.

all occasions, and in all controversies, our blessed martyr St Cyprian (therein imitated by all his contemporaries, Stephen himself not excepted) recurs to Divine authority, requires Divine precept or warrant, rejects whatever is without it. He reprobates, with keenness and heights of indignation, the plea of custom in every case wherein a command cannot be produced. Indeed he doth not allow them to be Christians who forsake Christ's institutions, and in their stead set up their own contrivances. I might easily fill some sheets with testimonies to this purpose. Nor was it peculiar to him to be so nice and cautious in this matter; not one of his contemporaries otherwise minded. This, I say, might be largely insisted on, and most fully proved; but it is needless, not a page almost in the monuments of those times but affords copious evidence.

LVII.—Only one thing, therefore, I shall instance in. It is that which is our present concernment—the government of the Church. St Cyprian is not more peremptory about any one thing, than that there ought to be no recession from Divine ordinance and institution, either in the constitution or the practice of it. This is the great argument he uses with his people to oblige them to desert and disown Felicissimus and his complices, viz. that that schismatical party was acting plainly contrary to God's ordinance in stirring up the Martyrs, and Confessors, and the Lapsers against the Bishop;[1] and for that party to absolve the Lapsers without the Bishop was a new tradition of sacrilegious institution set up against the Evangelical discipline;[2] that therefore his people ought courageously and resolvedly to reject the party, and carefully abstain from all communication with it.[3] This same is likewise his great argument

[1] Hi fomenta olim quibusdam Confessoribus et hortamenta tribuebant, ne concordarent cum *Episcopo* suo, nec ecclesiasticam disciplinam cum fide et quiete juxta *præcepta Dominica* continerent—— Ac ne parum fuisset corrupisse quorundam Confessorum mentes, et contra *sacerdotium Dei* portionem ruptæ fraternitatis armare voluisse——Ep. 43, p. 82.

[2] Eadem nunc ratio, eadem rursus eversio, per quinque Presbyteros Felicissimo copulatos, ad ruinam salutis inducitur, ut non rogetur Deus, nec qui negavit Christum, eundem Christum quem negaverat deprecetur; post culpam criminis tollatur et pœnitentia; nec per *Episcopos* et sacerdotes Domino satisfiat, sed relictis *Domini sacerdotibus contra Evangelicam disciplinam nova traditio sacrilegæ institutionis exsurgat.* Ibid.

[3] Nemo vos, fratres, errare à Domini viis faciat. Nemo vos Christianos

against the Roman schismatics—those who did set up Novatianus, an anti-bishop, against the one true Bishop. He says to do so was "contrary to the Evangelical law;" and by consequence to set up another, that it is not a Christian but an Antichristian Church.[1] Or, as he elsewhere words it, a "human church," a church of "man's invention."[2] So plain and peremptory was St Cyprian against all innovations, even in the point of government—so careful was he to keep by Divine institution.

LVIII.—I intended no more than what I have done, viz. to name this great consideration, which might have been pursued to a very great length, but the hint I have given is sufficient for my purpose; let us therefore, in a word, cast up the sum of this discourse—here it is. I have fully shewn that there was proper Prelacy in St Cyprian's time, and that all the world over—not only a Prelacy of dignity, but also a Prelacy of power—a notorious Episcopal superiority over Presbyters, lodged in the persons of Bishops.[3] I have shewn that those of the Cyprianic age lived at no such

ab Evangelio Christi rapiat. Nemo filios Ecclesiæ de Ecclesia tollat. Pereant sibi soli, qui perire voluerunt. Extra Ecclesiam soli remaneant, qui de Ecclesia recesserunt. Soli cum Episcopis non sint, qui contrà Episcopos rebellarunt. Conjurationis suæ pœnas soli subeant, qui olim secundum vestra suffragia, nunc secundum Dei judicia, sententiam conjurationis et malignitatis suæ subire meruerunt. Monet nos Dominus in Evangelio suo dicens. REJICITIS MANDATUM DOMINI UT TRADITIONEM VESTRAM STATUATIS. Qui *mandatum Dei* rejiciunt et *traditionem suam statuere conantur, fortiter* à *vobis* et *firmiter respuantur*—Ep. 43, p. 84.

[1] Gravat enim me atque contristat, et intolerabilis perculsi et pene prostrati pectoris mœstitia perstringit; cum vos illic (Romæ, nam Romanos schismaticos alloquitur) comperissem contra Ecclesiasticam dispositionem, *contra Evangelicam legem*, contra institutionis catholicæ unitatem, *alium Episcopum* fieri consensisse, id est, quod nec fas est, nec licet fieri, *Ecclesiam aliam* constitui—Ep. 46, p. 89.

[2] Quisquis ille est, et qualiscunque est, Christianus non est, qui in Ecclesia Christi non est. Jactet se licet (Novatianus) et philosophiam vel eloquentiam suam superbis vocibus prædicet; qui nec fraternam caritatem, nec Ecclesiasticam unitatem retinuit, etiam quod prius fuerat, amisit. Nisi si Episcopus tibi videtur, qui Episcopo in Ecclesia à sedecim coepiscopis facto, *adulter* atque *extraneus Episcopus* fieri à desertoribus per ambitum nititur; ut cum sit *a Christo* una Ecclesia per totum mundum in multa membra divisa, item *Episcopatus unus*, (ab eodem nempe Christo) Episcoporum multorum concordi numerositate diffusus; ille *post Dei traditionem——humanam conetur Ecclesiam facere*—Ep. 55, p. 112.

[3] Cap. 5, 6, 7.

distance from the days of the Apostles, but that they might have had most certain knowledge—most full assurance of what form of government the Apostles left in those Churches whose constitution they lived to finish.[1] I have shewn that they did universally believe, and with the greatest assurance profess it as an unquestionable point of their faith, that the Episcopacy which obtained and was practised in their time, that is, that a proper Episcopacy, as above described, was not only of Divine approbation, but of Divine institution—a Divine ordinance as properly as any other whatsoever. I have shewn, I say, that this was an article in that age universally received; and I dare renew my charge, and challenge G[ilbert] R[ule,] or any of his fraternity, to shew me so much as one witness that lived in that age either deposing against the Divine right of Episcopacy, or debating it, or doubting of it? I have just now shewn that those who did in that age so peremptorily depose for the Divine right of it, did it not carelessly or indeliberately, or upon untried or unexamined principles. I have shewn that never men were more nice in their belief—never men more cautious against taking things upon trust, and without serious penetration and enquiry—never men more averse to admit innovations or swallow down human inventions. If any men shall think I have not sufficiently established this last step, let him tell me so much, and hereby I do promise him satisfaction. Till I am told so much, I will think I have sufficiently established it. I am confident no man acquainted with the monuments of that age can call this last step in question. Now what is the result? in short,

LIX.—If these things are sufficiently established, then let our Presbyterian brethren, and all other sectarians who reject Episcopal government, consider what a presumption, or rather what a demonstration, the universal faith and practice of the Cyprianic age is against them. Let all latitudinarians—all those who are for the indifferency of Episcopal government look to it, and weigh their arguments for it over again—let them join them all together, and put them in the balance with the principles and the universal belief of the Christians of the Cyprianic age, and ingeniously

[1] Cap. 1, sect. 35, &c.

confess, that all things considered, they are very light, and of very little moment. Let those who are bold to separate from Churches Episcopally constituted, because they are of such a constitution, look to it—let those who contemn, who revile, who undervalue, who rebel against orthodox, holy, Catholic, canonically ordained, and lawfully promoted Bishops, look to it—let them look to it who can adventure, for serving carnal ends, for securing little temporal interests in pursuance of unaccountable humours, or, which is little better, in subserviency to worldly politics, to overturn the Episcopal constitution of Churches and persecute Bishops—let them seriously consider if it be a light matter to make so bold with such sacred interests; and let those who suffer for their adherence to Episcopacy, consider with what comfort they may do it, and with what constancy they ought to do it. What greater comfort, what greater encouragement can we readily imagine, than there must be in adhering to principles so universally received, so firmly believed, so religiously adhered to in such a glorious age; *so long as we adhere to them, we do really live in communion with the saints of that age; and if we adorn our profession with a suitable practice, we may be fully assured that we live in communion with the same God and the same Saviour they lived in communion with;* and by consequence, when we suffer for our adherence to such principles, we may be fully assured that we suffer in a good cause for the sake of righteousness—for the testimony of a good conscience—that we suffer in such a cause as ought to animate us, and inspire us with true Christian courage and resolution to suffer patiently and perseveringly, till God of his infinite mercy shall here or hereafter put an end to our sufferings.

FINIS.

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